

THE

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LXVIII. *The History of Hindostan, Sanscreeet and Classical.* Volume the Second, Part the Third and last. 4to. pp 330. 1l. 1s. (No Publisher's Name.)

See an account of vol. ii. parts 1 and 2, in our second volume, p. 441, for Dec. 1798.

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(This subject has been re-engraved from more correct models.)

The Buddha; or the ninth Avatar: incarnate for the Purpose of abolishing sanguinary Sacrifices.

The Calci; or tenth Avatar: an evident Allusion to the destroying Angel and white Horse of the Apocalypse.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE PREFACE.

“THE farther the reader proceeds in the life of the eighth Avatar, the more he must be convinced of the absurdity and impiety of the comparison, which has been so insidiously attempted to be made by M. Volney, between the Christian and the Indian *Preseverer*. As he has already, in the two introductory chapters, been sufficiently prepared to form a proper judgment on the subject of Creeshna, I have permitted the sportive young deity to continue acting his romantic exploits on the plains of Mathura; only throwing an occasional veil over the more licentious parts of the conduct of this Apollo Nominus of India, whose amours are certainly not less numerous than those of the Greek; of whom, in many respects, he appears to have been the studied exemplar.

“It cannot be denied however, that, amidst all this licentiousness which the Brahmins, in fact, are anxious to explain away, as if the whole were a sublime allegory, resembling the Greek story of the loves of Cupid and Psyche, there often issue from the lips of Creeshna maxims and precepts worthy of a deity; while many of the apologies, occasionally introduced into it, impress the noblest lessons of piety and philanthropy.” P. iii.

“The two remaining Avatars will be found, I trust, detailed and explained to the complete satisfaction, at least, of that numerous class of my readers, who do not think the theological disquisition the least important portion of this historical retrospect on the most ancient events transacted on the great theatre of Asia, events which carry us back to near the æra of the venerated patriarchs. To that respectable, but less numerous class of my readers, who, less ardent for theological research, seek for historic truth amidst the darkness of those early ages, I flatter myself the final portion of this volume, which discusses the connexion of the Tartars, Persians, and early Greeks, with the Indians, will not be wholly unsatisfactory: they will candidly remember the remoteness of the æra, and the scanty materials yet

in our possession for the full investigation of events then transacted. When more ample materials shall have been discovered, with adequate encouragement I shall not be reluctant to resume the investigation; and, since all theological discussion is now finally terminated, to present the public with a volume of *purely historical fact*, relating to the invasions of India by Greek, Persian, and Mohammedan conquerors, down to the death of Aurungzeb in the present century. A considerable part of this vast and interesting history has been long written by me, but disquisitions thought by my friends more important, have superseded its appearance. The event has justified their advice; and the learned reader who may have perused the ingenious and elaborate, but dangerous work of M. Dupuis, on the *Origin of all Religions*, a work comprised in three large quarto volumes, with two additional volumes of plates, illustrative of his chimeras, must be convinced of the necessity which existed of the previous appearance of a work like mine; however inferior in point of execution. He will there see with what determined hostility the noble science of astronomy, which I have endeavoured to render subservient to the cause of Christianity, has been employed on the Continent to subvert, and, if possible, to eradicate it from the earth." P. v.

"P. S. As the pens of various Indian scholars are, I find, at this moment employed in the particular geographical investigation of Alexander's progress through the Northern Asia, and as the result of that investigation will shortly appear, I would gladly have delayed the publication of this final portion of my history, to have had the advantage of that superior information which local residence so decidedly gives. But any farther delay was inconsistent with my engagements with the public. I have no desire to intrude on the line of study in which others, better instructed and with better opportunities of research, may have engaged. In detailing, therefore, the account of Alexander's invasion of India, I have adhered, with little deviation, to plain historical fact, though I cannot but lament that a subject, important enough to occupy a large volume, must be compressed within the compass of a few concluding pages." P. vii.

EXTRACTS.

ORIGINAL FORM OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

"THE universal diffusion of the Brahmin religion and sciences over the vast continent of India, would lead us, without the confirming voice of history, to suspect, that at some remote period there subsisted, in that region of Asia, an empire as widely diffused, under the guidance of one puissant sovereign. Under Bali, if that name imply not rather a dynasty of princes than an individual monarch, we have, in fact, seen that such an empire did flourish. Under Rama, the next in succession, as an Avatar and king, whose capital was Oudhe, in Bahar, there is every appearance of its having remained unbroken. Under Bharat, also, a prince of such extensive power, that his name was conferred on the whole region, there is no reason to suppose that any division of it had taken place. Judasiter is generally acknowledged to have been the sovereign of all India; his capital, as we have seen, Hatanapoor, or Delhi. If the preceding assertion be true in regard to these and a few others of the earliest monarchs of Hindostan, and certain of the most renowned among the latter, it does not hold good of those of her sovereigns, who reigned in more recent æras, till the period of their absolute subjection to the Mohammedans. Their native princes, with the title of universal monarchs, seem to have been invested only with a delegated power, voluntarily conferred by a numerous and powerful band of subordinate sovereigns. The very title of *Maharajah*, or *Rajah of Rajahs*, which the nominal head of that vast empire anciently bore, evidently implies no more than a kind of feudal jurisdiction over chieftains, possessing absolute dominion in their own territories, but contributing a stipulated sum and force to support the grandeur of the imperial throne, and, on great national occasions, ranging themselves, with succours proportionate to the extent and population of their respective domains, under the banners of one supreme chief. Nature herself, in fact, seems to have placed, in this respect, a barrier to human pride; forbidding Hindostan, except in the limited way just intimated, to continue long under the control of one overgrown monarch. To bound the ambition

bition of princes, over the surface of the country the drew those vast lines which so peculiarly distinguish that quarter of the globe; those lofty mountains, those deep and rapid rivers, those extensive lakes, those vast deserts of sand and impassable forests, which intersect India. Again, whatever may be boasted by the Indian historians concerning themselves, and the chain of succession remaining for such an extended period of years unbroken, in its two first and greatest dynasties of the *sun and moon*, their accounts are rendered exceedingly suspicious, not only by what we know of the perpetual proneness in mankind to abuse extensive power, but by the corruptions necessarily attending the education of Eastern princes, by the number of royal children yearly produced in the seraglios, and by the spirit of intrigue that in a particular manner constantly agitates the Asiatic courts, amidst so many rivals as the first order of nobility affords for wealth, power, and renown." P. 512.

ORIGIN OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM, AND ARMORIAL BEARINGS.

"SIR William Jones, speaking of this part of India (Canouge), says; 'The ancient system of government, which prevailed in this country, seems to have been perfectly feudal: all the territories were governed by rais, or rajahs, who held their lands of a supreme lord, called Balhara; the seat of whose residence was the city of Canouge, now in ruins.' The Ayeen Akbery (vol. ii. p. 120.) exhibits a curious proof of this feudal dependence of the subordinate rajahs, and the necessity of their paying homage in person, at stated periods, to the supreme Balhara; for, at a great festival, or sacrifice, called *Raïson*, at which all the rajahs of Hindoostan were obliged to attend, and of which the meanest offices, even to the duties of 'the scullery,' were performed by rajahs; Pithowra, the rajah of Delhi, from contempt of the sovereign, not attending, 'that the festival might not be incomplete,' an effigy in gold of the absent rajah was formed, and by way of retorted contempt assigned the ignoble office of porter of the gate. The rajahs of Pithowra, in the end, cost him his crown and his life.

"The profound policy of an institution like this, must be evident to the reader, since it at once cherished the bond of general union, and preserved in a necessary state of subordination the detached members of a widely-extended empire. The strength of this bond, and the degree of this subordination, without doubt, greatly varied, according to the degree of energy and wisdom possessed by the supreme head. If he were valiant and enterprising, the whole civil and military power acted as the counsel and army of one sovereign; if cowardly and effeminate, the bond became relaxed in proportion, and the inferior dependant states insulted the throne they were intended to protect and adorn. In truth, the feudal system seems to have originated in the East, perhaps first in the wide plains of India; and, by the northern hordes that inundated Europe, and overwhelmed the Roman empire, towards the close of the fourth century, it was imported into Europe; whose system of laws and government gradually experienced, from that introduction, a considerable change. By the same hardy race, the descendants of the Tartar tribes that tenanted the north of Asia, were introduced *armorial bearings*, which originally were nothing more than the hieroglyphic symbols, mostly of a religious allusion, that distinguished the banners of the potentates of Asia: for instance, in India, Veehnu had the eagle, seeva the bull, Rama the falcon, engraved on their banners; animals respectively sacred to them in their system of mythology. The ancient standard of the Tartars displayed the sun rising behind a recumbent lion; the eagle of the sun was engraved on that of Persia, whose inhabitants worshipped that orb, and it will be remembered that the Hebrew tribes had also their sacred symbolic devices, descriptive of their office, character, or situation." P. 513.

THE ANCIENT PERSIANS RESTRAINED BY THE PRECEPTS OF RELIGION FROM ENGAGING IN MARITIME EXPEDITIONS.

"IN the introductory work*, when speaking of the ancient commerce carried on between India and Persia, I

* See Indian Antiquities, vol. vi. p. 406.

had occasion to observe, that the latter nation, from the earliest periods, were equally restrained, by the precepts of religion and the dictates of policy, from engaging in maritime expeditions. The element of water, not less than that of fire, was the object of their superstitious veneration; and, while that superstition made them shudder at the idea of polluting it themselves, by any species of filth, thrown from vessels, the dread of invasion from a quarter in which they were so defenceless induced them to prohibit the entrance of foreigners into their dominions, by any maritime inlet, under penalties extremely rigorous. To render that event impossible by the channel of their two great rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, they effectually dammed up the mouths of those rivers with immense engines; to remove which cost Alexander, when his fleet, under the command of Nearchus, sailed, by the route of the Persian Gulf, into Mesopotamia, no small portion of time and labour. At length, roused to a sense of danger by the accounts brought to the court of Persia of the maritime genius of Greece, and of the great naval armaments fitting out in the various ports of that nation, their brave and aspiring neighbour, the Persian sovereigns broke through the fetters of their ancient superstition, and, by the assistance of the Phœnicians, and even of the Greeks themselves, I mean the Ionic and Carian Greeks, constructed a navy, and ploughed the forbidden ocean. In this new project, ambition also had a considerable share, and it was a desire of ascertaining the exact point at which the Indus meets the ocean, as well as of exploring and conquering the western provinces of India, that induced Darius to fit out at Caspatyrus, a city on the Indus, and in the territories of Pactyia, the modern Pechely, the fleet so celebrated in history, of which he gave the command to Scylax, a Grecian of Caryandria, a city of Caria, and sent with him others, in whose nautical skill he placed an entire confidence, with express orders to sail down the current of that rapid river; diligently to observe the countries that lay on either side of it; to enter the southern ocean beyond it; to coast along the Persian and Arabian shore; to enter the Red Sea by the Straits of

Babelmandel; and, finally, sailing up that gulf, to land in Egypt, at the same place whence Necho, king of Egypt, some time before, dispatched a fleet of Phœnicians, with orders to sail round the coast of Libya, and by that route return westward to the capital of Persia. This tedious, and, for those days, hazardous navigation, Scylax and his companions successfully accomplished in the thirtieth month from its commencement; and, arriving at the court of Susa with the desired intelligence, animated that monarch to attempt the conquest of the western region of India." P. 341.

LXIX. *Browne's Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria.* (Concluded from p. 332.)

MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS ON THE COUNTRIES NEAR DAR-FUR.

"I SHALL now proceed to state some relations that were made to me concerning Kordofân and other adjacent countries.

"A king, of the name of Abli-calik, is the idol of the people of Kordofân, where he reigned about fourteen years ago, and is renowned for probity and justice. The kings of Kordofân had been deputed by the Mecque of Sennaar, till after the death of the son of Abli-calik, when it was usurped by Fûr, in consequence of the weakness and dissensions of the government at Sennaar.

"The people of Kordofân are reported to be not only indifferent to the amours of their daughters and sisters, but even attached to their seducers. The father or brother will even draw the sword against him who offends the *Resik*, or companion of his daughter or sister. Very different is the mode of thinking in Sennaar, where immorality is only permitted among the female slaves. The chief merchants have companies of these slaves, and derive great profit from their prostitution.

"Afnou, a country beyond Bornou to the westward, is said to produce such abundance of silver, that the natives construct defensive armour of that metal. The coats of mail are joined, and represented as very beautiful. Of the same material, it is reported, are made pieces to protect the head and breast

breast of their horses, the former having the chaffron, or horn, known in our days of chivalry.

"Among the southern countries, whither the Jelabs of Bergoo and Fûr sometimes journey to procure slaves, is Dar Kulla. The chief article they carry to Kulla is salt, twelve pounds of which are estimated as the price of a male slave, *sedafé*, about twelve or fourteen years of age. A female brings three pounds more, whimsically computed by the natives, as, a pound for the girl's eyes, another for her nose, and a third for her ears. If copper be the medium, two rotals are esteemed equal to four of salt. Hoddâr, a large sort of Venetian glass beads, and tin, are in great esteem. Of the latter they make rings and other ornaments.

"The natives of Kulla are represented as partly negroes, partly of a red or copper colour. Their language is nasal, but very simple and easy. It is said they worship idols. They are very cleanly, to which the abundance of water in their country contributes; and they are remarkable for honesty, and even punctilious in their transactions with the Jelabs.

"They have ferry-boats on the river, which are impelled partly by poles, partly by a double oar, like our canoes. Slaves are obtained in Dar Kulla either by violence, *Selatâ*, or by the following method. In that country the smallest trespass on the property of another is punished by enslaving the children or young relations of the trespasser. If even a man's footstep be observed among the corn of another, the circumstance is attended by calling witnesses, and application to a magistrate, and the certain consequence of proof is the forfeiture of his son, daughter, nephew, or niece, to the person trespassed on. These accidents are continually happening, and produce a great number of slaves. A commission to purchase any thing in a distant market, not exactly fulfilled, is attended with a like forfeiture. But above all, if a person of note die, the family have no idea of death as a necessary event, but say that it is effected by witchcraft. To discover the perpetrator, the poorer natives, far and near, are obliged to undergo expurgation by drinking a liquor which is called in Dar-Fûr *Kilingi*, or something that resembles it; and the person on

whom the supposed signs of guilt appear, may either be put to death, or sold as a slave.

"The people of Kulla are strangers to venereal complaints, but are subject to the small-pox. In that part of the country which is visited by the Jelabs there is a king; the rest is occupied by small tribes, each of which is ruled by the chief who happens to have most influence at the time. The Kumba, or pimento tree, is found there in such plenty, that a rotal or pound of salt will purchase four or five mid, each mid about a peck.

"The trees are so large, from the quantity of water and deep clay, that canoes are hollowed out of them sufficiently capacious to contain ten persons.

"It was related to me by Jelabs who have visited that country, that the inhabitants of Dar Bergoo make war by sudden incursions, traversing and laying waste a large space in a short time. They leave their women behind, and are thus better adapted to military operations than the Fûrians, who follow an opposite practice, never marching without a host of attendant females. The people of Bergoo seldom make *Selatâ*.

"Some of the idolatrous nations, dependent on Bergoo, are represented as making war in a very formidable manner. The combatants never retreat; and the women behind light a fire, in which they heat the heads of the spears, and exchange them for such as are cooled in the combat. They also use poisoned weapons.

"There is a remote part of the pagan country, from which slaves are brought, which the Arabs distinguish by the term *Gnam Gnam* (a sobriquet), whose inhabitants eat the flesh of the prisoners they take in war. I have conversed with slaves who came thence, and they admit the fact. These people are also in the habit of stripping off the skin of the hands and faces of their slaughtered foes, which afterwards undergo some preparation, and are worn as a mark of triumph. Their arms, a spear or javelin, are of iron, wrought by themselves. After having heated them to redness, they stick the point into the trunk of a particular tree, and there leave the weapon till the juice has dried on. In this manner it acquires, as is reported, a most deadly poison." P. 307.

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ANTURA IN SYRIA—WORTLEY MONTAGUE.

"ANTURA is a pleasant village, surrounded with mulberry-trees, but presenting nothing remarkable. Not far from this place is a convent of nuns, where Mr. Wortley Montague lodged his wife*. The drefs of the Christians in this quarter seems unrestrained; they wear turbans adorned with various colours, even green; and they are freely indulged in the exercise of their religion: so natural is despotism to this climate, that those who live under their own Christian shechs or governors, are almost equally oppressed with those subject to Turks. The shechs fleece the poor people, and Jezzâr fleeces the shechs." P. 378.

DAMASCUS—ENTRANCE OF THE GRAND CARAVAN FROM MECCA.

"THE route from Aleppo to Damascus has been often described. On Wednesday the 8th of August (1797) entered Damascus at daybreak. The approach is remarkable, being ornamented for many miles with numerous gardens, and then by a paved way, extending for a great length.

"On the day after my arrival, was entertained with the entrance of the grand caravan from Mecca. The street was lined for some miles, for such is its length, with innumerable spectators, all impressed with curiosity, some with anxiety to see their friends and relations, many with reverence for the sacred procession. Some of the more opulent Hadjîs, or pilgrims, were carried in litters (*tattarawân*), but the greater number in a kind of panniers, two and two, placed on the back of camels. They did not appear much fatigued, though it was said they had suffered from the want of water.

"On the Saturday following, was

the entrance of the Pasha of Damascus, who is constantly the *Emîr-el-Hadjî*, or chief of the caravan by office. First appeared three hundred dellsis, or cavalry, mounted on Arabian horses, variously armed and clothed, but on the whole forming no mean display. These were succeeded by fifteen men on dromedaries, with musketoons, or large carbines, placed before them, and turning on a twivel in every direction. This destructive instrument of war is said to have passed from the Persians to the Syrians. Some of the great officers of the city followed, well mounted, and decently attired. Then came part of the Pasha of Tripoli's Janizaries, well clothed and armed; that Pasha himself, with his officers, and the remainder of his guard. Next was the *tattarawân* belonging to the Pasha of Damascus, another body of four hundred dellsis, a company of thirty musketooners, a hundred and fifty Albanians, in uniform, and marching two and two, like our troops. Before the latter was borne the standard of the Prophet, *Senjak Sherîf*, of green silk, with sentences of the Korân embroidered in gold, and the magnificent canopy brought from Mecca, guarded by a strong body of Muggrebins, or western Arabs, on foot. Then passed the Pasha's three tails (generally of white horses), borne by three men on horseback; twelve horses (a Pasha of two tails has only six), richly caparisoned, and each bearing a silver target and a sabre; six led dromedaries, in beautiful housings; numbers of the chief persons of the city followed, among whom were the Aga of the Janizaries, the governor of the castle, and the Mohassel. Last came the Pasha himself, in a habit of green cloth adorned with fur of the black fox, preceded by his two sons, the eldest about fourteen, all mounted on the most spirited steeds of Arabia, and fol-

* "He brought her thither during the process, instituted at Rome, relatively to her first marriage, and before that marriage was set aside. A long history attends this part of the life of this remarkable man. Montague having persuaded the first husband, who was captain of a merchantman in the service of persons at Marseilles, to leave his wife, whom he had brought with him to Egypt, under M.'s protection at Rashid, the latter took advantage of his absence on a voyage home, to persuade the woman that her husband was no more. He then made an offer of himself, which was accepted. On a disclosure of the affair, Montague had interest and address enough to set aside the first marriage, which had been solemnized before either of the parties were of age. The religious were persuaded that Montague was a zealous convert to the Catholic faith."

lowed by his household troops, to the number of four hundred, well armed and mounted. More than a hundred camels had preceded the rest, bearing the tents and baggage of the Pasha. The whole was conducted without any noise or tumult, to the great credit of the Damascus mob, who had been waiting several hours without their usual repast." P. 394.

GOVERNMENT AND MANNERS—RECENT HISTORY.

"THE inhabitants of Damascus were formerly noted for their maltreatment of the Franks, but at present I found the pride of their ignorance somewhat abated, and observed no difference between them and other Oriental citizens. It is deeply to be regretted, that religion, intended to conciliate mankind, should be the chief cause of their ferocity against each other, and should, in an equal proportion, have mingled poisons and antidotes. The Mohammedan himself a god, all the rest of mankind dogs! can any benefit recompense the pride, the fury, the eternal enmity, destruction, and slaughter, interwoven into the very soul by such misanthropic dogmata?

"A striking contrast exists between the inhabitants of Damascus and those of Aleppo. The Aleppins are vain and seditious; the Damascenes, on the contrary, sober, industrious, and unostentatious. The females and children have commonly regular features and a fair complexion: the dress of the women nearly the same as at Constantinople, white muslin veils, except the prostitutes, who, as usual all over the East, expose their faces. To paint the face is an improvement unknown among the Oriental fair, save the Greeks alone.

"The charitable establishments in Damascus are numerous, among which may be noted that constructed by Sultan Selim, for the reception of strangers; though his munificence have been since diverted into other channels. The building consists of a vast quadrangle, lined with a colonnade. It is entirely roofed in small domes, covered with lead. The mosque is grand; the entrance supported by four large columns of red granite. It is covered with a cupola, and has two minarets. A handsome garden lies adjacent. The apartments are numerous, and the kitchen or *mutbach*, on the side opposite

to the mosque, is suited to the grandeur of the establishment.

"The celebrated Asad Pasha, mentioned by Niebuhr and Volney, left an only daughter, of whom, on her marriage with Mohammed Pasha Adm, sprang the present Pasha Abdallah. Mohammed Pasha Adm was preceded by Osmân, and succeeded by two of his own brothers successively, the last of whom, named Derwish, was expelled by the intrigues of Jezzâr, who gained his office, and married the daughter of Mohammed Pasha Adm. This marriage of ambition, not of affection, terminated in a divorce a year after. Among other instances of his bad treatment of that lady, it is recorded that Jezzâr, meeting her one day in the house, where she happened to have *cab-cab*, or Arabian pattens on her feet, pulled a pistol from his cincture, and fired it at her, saying, 'Art thou the wife of an Arabian peasant? dost thou forget that thou art the wife of a Pasha?'

"Jezzâr retained his ill-won pashalik of Damascus only a few years; his government was a continual scene of oppression and cruelty, and he is supposed to have extorted from the people not less than twenty-five thousand purses, or about a million and two hundred thousand pounds sterling; and to have put to death near four hundred individuals, most of them innocent. His own misconduct and suspicious designs, when leading the caravan to Mecca, conspired with the machinations of his enemies at the Porte to deprive him of his office: but living monuments of his cruelty remain, in the noseless faces and earless heads of many of the Damascenes. Thus driven from Damascus, he returned to his former pashalik of Acré and Seidé, where he remains. This government, which he held along with that of Damascus, he has retained upwards of twenty-seven years." P. 400.

CONSTANTINOPLE—THE SULTAN—STATE OF LEARNING—PUBLIC LIBRARIES, &c.

"THE present Sultan is not deficient in discernment, or warm wishes to promote the happiness of his people; but through the usual imperfection of his education, he is the slave of his own impetuosity, and a stranger to the recesses of the human heart. His motives

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tives are generally right, but the means, opposed by popular prejudices, are often ineffectual.

"Sultan Selim, after correcting the police of the capital, turned his beneficent views to the encouragement of learning among his subjects. He has revived the mathematical school, in which, however, small progress had been made; his ignorance of the world leading him to think that his orders can form minds, and that a pension confers capacity. He has restored the printing-office, and a new Arabic type was casting by an ingenious Armenian. But whether the improvement of the type may contribute to the diffusion of solid knowledge among the Turks, may fairly be questioned. The first book ordered to be printed was a Persian dictionary. An engraver on copper is also settled here; the subjects are the armillary sphere, some plans of fortification, the box-compass, and the like.

"The Turks are remarkable for half-measures. In the mathematical and marine school, a substantial and commodious building, they are furnished with every thing—except instruments and books; the class small or none; but the end of the institution is considered as completely answered, as there are professors who meet and smoke their pipes together.

"There are several *Kutub-chans*, or public libraries, among which the principal are those of St. Sophia and the Solimanî Jamâsy; but none so elegant as that built by Raghib Pasha, formerly Grand Wizîr. The magnificent institutions of this great man being envied by the Sultan of the day, his head was the forfeit of his virtues. This library is an insulated building, in the middle of a square court, consisting entirely of marble, and very neat and convenient. A large tomb, decorated with gilt brass, in which Raghib Pasha is buried, forms the centre of the library. Around are numerous books, on all subjects, chiefly, as usual, theology; convenient seats and elegant carpets and cushions for the readers. A librarian constantly attends. The light is well disposed, and the place perfectly quiet; so that I have no where seen a building or institution more complete of the kind. The apartment is raised above the ground by seven or eight easy steps. Fronting the street there is a school, founded by

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the same Pasha. It is a convenient room, of thirty-five feet long and proportionate width, where about an hundred boys are taught to read and write, and the more simple part of their theology. There is only one class, which attends every day for two hours in the morning and two in the afternoon.

"I met with a Mohammedan, a native of Balk, who understood the first six books of Euclid. A young Englishman, who has embraced Islamism, and is lately established at Constantinople, had translated Euclid into Turkish, and published an astronomical ephemeris. Having received some encouragement, he was proceeding to read lectures on mathematical subjects. Many scribes are found here who write elegantly and correctly.

"The national taste does not seem rapidly to improve. One of the Sultanas, sisters of the monarch, has not long since built a villa on the Bosphorus, half in the European style, half in the Chinese." P. 421.

"Went to a Greek printing-house, conducted by an Armenian. They were printing a small exhortation in the Greek language, written by Anthenius, patriarch of Jerusalem, against the prevailing tenets of Deism and Atheism. They throw off about a thousand sheets a-day.

"The navy has of late been greatly improved by Le Brun and other French ship-builders. On the 2d of April 1798, there were eight ships of war at anchor in the Bosphorus; three seventy-fours, four fifties, one forty. The whole navy amounts to fifteen ships, fit for service, and of considerable force.

"The Turkish women, in fine weather, ape the European custom of taking the air in their carriages, in a great square; but they are concealed in small latticed waggons, and veiled. They thus lose the best part of the display, 'the mighty pleasure of being seen.'

"I shall close my remarks on Constantinople with observing, that the country between it and Adrianople is completely plain, and that the capital is, on the land side, incapable of any defence against a victorious army. The uncertainty of the winds and channels joins with the forts to defend the other side from any sudden assault.

"Proceeding through Wallachia to
3 B Vienna,

Vienna, Prague, Dresden, Leipzig, Potsdam, Berlin, and Hamburg, I arrived in London on the 16th September 1798, after an absence of nearly seven years." P. 423.

LXX. *Sonnini's Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt.* (Continued from p. 322.)

That our readers may see specimens of the two translations of Sonnini's Travels, we present them with the following extracts from a quarto edition, now in the press; to be published by Mr. Debrett.

* * This translation will contain an additional plate of a view of ABOU MANDOUR, in an opposite point to that given by Sonnini (plate 8); exhibiting a more enlarged representation of the mosque, with the addition of the city of Rosetta, &c. in the distance.

SECT OF SAADI, OR SERPENT-EATERS.

"THE race of the Psilli, a people who were persuaded that they possessed the power of setting serpents at defiance, of charming them, of making these reptiles follow them at their call, and of curing their bites, has been perpetuated in Egypt. There exists a sect called *Saadis*, from the name of their founder, a saint highly venerated among the Mahometans of that country. This *Saadi* had an uncle, a great man in Syria. Having one day sent him for some branches of the bushes in the desert, when the lad had cut the fagot, he was very much at a loss to tie it. After a fruitless search, he bethought himself of knotting together several serpents, and with this living cord he bound his fagot. The uncle, delighted with his nephew's acuteness, said to him: *Well, you may now make your way in the world, for you are more knowing than me.* Immediately on this the ingenious youth began travelling about the country, charming serpents by his wonderful and supernatural skill; and he had a great number of disciples, to whom he communicated his art. His tomb is near Damascus; it is filled with serpents and other venomous animals, among which a person may lie down and sleep, without their doing him the smallest injury.

"Such is the superstitious origin of a very numerous sect in Egypt, each

individual of which inherits the skill of its founder. Every year they celebrate his festival in a manner analogous to the institution. They march in procession through the streets, each holding in his hand a living serpent, which he bites, gnaws, and swallows piecemeal, making, at the same time, frightful grimaces and contortions. But this festival, which I was desirous of seeing, was celebrated only in the summer; and I was extremely anxious to examine closely one of these serpent-eaters. On this occasion, M. Forneti and myself had recourse to the same means that we had employed respecting the circumcision (the mediation of a Turk); and a *Saadi* came to my apartments, accompanied by a priest of his sect. The latter carried in his bosom a large serpent, which he was continually handling. After having recited a prayer, he delivered it to the *Saadi*. I observed that the reptile's teeth had been drawn; however, it was very lively, and of a dusky green and copper colour.

"The *Saadi*, with a muscular hand, seized the serpent, which entwined itself round his naked arm. He began to be agitated; his countenance changed; his eyes rolled; he uttered terrible cries; bit the animal in the head, and tore off a piece, which we saw him chew and swallow. At that moment his agitation became convulsive; his howlings redoubled; his limbs withered; his aspect bore the marks of madness; and his mouth, distended by horrid grimaces, was covered with foam. From time to time he devoured fresh pieces of the reptile. Three men in vain exerted themselves to hold him; he dragged them all three round the room, throwing his arms violently about on all sides, and striking every thing within his reach. To avoid him, M. Forneti and myself were sometimes obliged to cling to the wall, to let him pass and escape his blows. We could have wished the maniac far enough off. At length the priest took the serpent from him; but his fury and his convulsions were not at first appeased; he bit his hands, and his passion continued. The priest clasped him in his arms, put his hand gently upon his back, lifted him from the ground, and recited some prayers. His agitation gradually subsided, and he became completely exhausted, in which state he continued a few moments.

"The

"The Turks who were present at the absurd and disgusting ceremony, were fully convinced of the reality of this religious frenzy. It is certainly true that, whether reality or imposture, it was impossible to express the transports of fury and madness in a more striking manner, or to see a man in a more terrific situation.

"The great number of these serpent-eaters had induced some authors, and particularly Dr. Shaw, to believe that they subsisted entirely upon these reptiles. According to this English traveller, there are at Cairo and in its environs, more than four thousand persons who live on nothing but serpents. This, however, is a mistake; serpents are not a dish among the *Saadis*; and if in their ceremonies they gnaw a few raw and alive, they are far from making them an article of food. In Egypt these men are very much respected; but among the Turks of the other parts of the Ottoman empire they are only objects of laughter.

"I had an opportunity of conversing with a sheik, or priest of this sect. He was of an open disposition; for, though he assured me that several of his fraternity had an extraordinary power over serpents, he confessed that he had not the smallest claim to it; but, on the contrary, was exceedingly afraid of these animals. By him I was informed of some particulars which I shall relate. In order to have serpents ready, upon every occasion, they keep them in their houses; but they previously take the precaution of extracting their teeth. If any person be bitten by a serpent, he runs directly to a *Saadi*, who mutters a few words over the wound, scarifies it with a razor; and, after having filled his mouth with lemon-juice, sucks the blood from it repeatedly. These men also cure the *serpent's breath*, an appellation given by them to inflammatory pustules which sometimes break out on those who sleep in the open air with any part of the body uncovered, and which they pretend are caused by the poisonous breath of a serpent. The remedy they employ is oil of sesamum mixed with ceruse, or white lead. With this liniment they rub the pustules, never failing, at the same time, to mutter a few words, without which every remedy would be perfectly ineffectual. Such is the lot of mankind, that there is no nation in the universe, of whose

history many pages are not appropriated to superstition!" P. 269.

CONVENT OF COPTS IN THE DESERT —TROOP OF ARAB ROBBERS.

"ON this side of the lakes (of Natron) there stands, upon the declivity of the hill, a small house, in which the Copts say there was born a saint, whom they particularly honour, called by them *Maximous*, probably the Saint Maximus, or Saint Maximinus, of the Catholic legend.

"I stopped some time near the lakes, and traversed their banks; at length we continued our route still in a south-west direction. After travelling over a sand entirely covered with hardened natron, that rendered our progress extremely fatiguing, both to us and our beasts, we arrived within a small distance of a large square building, in which some Coptic monks live secluded from the world. I do not believe that there is upon earth a situation so horrible or forbidding as this sort of monastery. Built in the middle of the desert, its walls, although very high, when they are seen at any considerable distance, cannot be distinguished from the sands, having the same reddish colour and naked aspect. There is no apparent entrance. Not a tree, not a plant of any size, surrounds it; no road leads to it; no trace of men is to be observed near it; or, if some footsteps are there imprinted, they are soon covered by the sands, or effaced by the feet of wild and ferocious animals, the proper inhabitants of these frightful solitudes. Such is the harsh and repulsive appearance of this retreat of men, as useless as their habitation.

"When we had come within five or six hundred yards of the convent, Hussein went on before, in order to procure us admittance, which it is very difficult to obtain. I was at some distance, and the rest of our party had lagged a considerable way behind. A troop of Bedouins on horseback suddenly darted out from behind the walls. I did not at first distinguish them in the midst of the cloud of dust which they raised; but as soon as they were discernible, I perceived the quality and number of the people with whom we had to deal. I instantly turned about, and, mounted upon an excellent horse, with which I was in no danger of being overtaken, I quickly rejoined my companions,

companions, who, from the back of their camels, had also perceived the horsemen. I found them on foot, and drawn up in a close body. I dismounted instantly, and encouraged them to make a vigorous defence. Our whole number was six, and on three only of these could any dependance be placed. Two natives of the country could afford no great assistance; and the draughtsman, who was young and inexperienced, did not know how to discharge a musket.

"The firmness of a handful of men, alone in the midst of a sandy desert, and wholly unprotected, overawed a squadron, amounting to near a hundred Bedouin Arabs. Hence a judgment may be formed, how little is to be dreaded from such enemies, whose courage goes no farther than to unite in numerous bodies, in order to commit, with impunity, every kind of depredation, and thus carry on a cowardly war of pillage. Although they rode up to us at full gallop, they halted suddenly at the distance of an hundred yards, and called out to us not to fire: I answered by desiring them not to advance. They remained for some moments, as if doubtful how to act; during which time we could observe they were holding a consultation. They then divided themselves into four bodies, three of which set off at full speed, and stationed themselves on our flanks and in our rear. This manœuvre, which it was not possible for us to prevent, disconcerted my two soldiers; and in spite of all my entreaties, which it could not prevail upon them to stand on their defence. We had good guns, and a considerable number of cartridges. I knew that the moment the Bedouins saw one of their party fall, they would betake themselves to flight; and I was certain that our first discharge would bring several of them to the ground. I did not reflect, it is true, that we were in the midst of an immense desert; and that, if our enemies fled, it would be only to return again soon, in order to overpower us by thousands, and, by massacring us all, to revenge the death of their comrades. I threw down my gun, in vexation at being compelled to submit to such a banditti. They immediately came upon us, and without even taking the trouble of dismounting, they stripped us in an instant. Money, arms, clothes, provisions; all our property, in short, was taken. They left me my long under waistcoat and my

breeches: my companions were stripped to their shirts. My turban having also been taken, my head, bare and shaved, was exposed to the burning heat of the sun, and pained me excelsively; and although I covered it as well as I could with both my hands, this precaution afforded me no relief. The booty was spread out upon the sand. A score of Arabs on foot, whom we had not before perceived, from their having been concealed behind a heap of stones, now joined the others; and the whole party, not without noisy quarrels, began to divide the spoil.

"This scene would have furnished a skilful artist with a striking subject for a picture. On one side he might have represented the gang of robbers covered with dust, of a black or tawny complexion, their countenances parched as the sands which their robberies render still more dreadful, quarrelling about the booty: in the midst of them my old servant endeavouring, with great *sang-froid*, to seize upon some of the articles of which we had been plundered, and occasionally making snatches at them: in the fore-ground the grenadier, motionless and confounded: the two Egyptians, stupidly gazing at one another: myself in the back-ground, biting my nails, with a look of anger and indignation: and lastly, the draughtsman, weeping aloud, and answering me with sobs, when I asked him if he had met with any ill-usage: *No, Sir; but what can we now get to eat?*

"Tired of being the spectator of a scene in which it was unnecessary for me to exhibit myself, I was proceeding towards the monastery, in hopes of finding Hussein, who had repaired thither; when I heard myself called, and immediately found myself laid hold of by the arm. It was the chief of the robbers, an Arab of the deserts of Nubia, for his face was as black as a negro's. Without saying a word, he carried me back into the midst of his troop. I took it for granted that he was displeased that I had any of my clothes left, or that, upon consideration, he had resolved to take away my life. How great was my astonishment when I saw this chief carefully inquiring after the clothes and property which belonged particularly to me; and after having been a rather too active valet-de-chambre in undressing me, once more perform that office, but with more civility, in assisting me to put on the different parts

parts of my dress, at the same time returning me my purse, and restoring my arms. In the mean while, other Bedouins rendered the same service to my companions, equally astonished at an adventure as singular as it was unexpected.

"This was effected by the spirited conduct of Hussein. While he was near the walls of the convent, whither he had repaired, his gun hanging over his shoulder, some Arabs had been detached to detain him, and had seized his piece; but Hussein, after a long contest, succeeded in leaping on horseback behind a Bedouin, and reaching the place where most of the band of robbers was collected, 'Arabs,' said he, addressing himself to their chiefs, 'you have stripped a man entrusted to my protection, and for whose safety I will stake my life; a man with whom I have eaten, who has slept in my tent, and has become my brother! Never again can I enter that tent; never again dare I return to my camp: I must henceforth renounce all hopes of the pleasure of embracing my wife and children: Arabs, take my life, or restore to my brother every article of his property.' This harangue, accompanied with the most determined look, and delivered in the most resolute tone, made an impression upon the Bedouins. Hussein had snatched his gun from the person who held it, and while they were consulting together, levelled it at the principal chief of the banditti, resolved to shoot him in case of refusal, and thus expose himself to be butchered, rather than consent that we should receive the smallest injury. Our conductor was well known: the Arabs were convinced from his decided character, that he would put his threats in execution; and partly from fear, and partly from deference, the black chief consented to restore every thing they had taken from me; and this was performed with a fidelity truly admirable. Indeed, when any thing considered valuable by the person who had stolen it was mentioned, it was necessary to urge the claim; but no sooner did the chief insist upon its restitution, than the article was instantly forthcoming. This discipline among such a people, and in a place where we could not expect to have found an instance of it, appeared to me extremely astonishing. The chief asked me what part of my property was still missing; on my naming

an article, he ascended a small eminence, and cried out: *Arabs, such a thing is not restored, let it be produced.* If his orders were not immediately obeyed, he added: *Come, Arabs, be quick;* and the article claimed was delivered to me in an instant. The chief then mentioned another part of the property stolen, and it was restored to me in the same manner.

"Two hours elapsed before this sort of inventory of my effects was completed: every thing was given back to me, except my money, of which I received but a very small part; but this was not the fault of the two *sheicks*. Hussein, in particular, required that I should count in his presence the sequins that had been returned. The Arabs, in whose eyes my purse appeared a valuable prize, and who had divided most of its contents, anxiously waited the result of this reckoning, and their embarrassment ceased when they heard me declare that I had received all my money. Thinking myself fortunate to get off so well, I readily made a sacrifice of two thirds of what I possessed, rather than incur the hatred and vengeance of the honest thieves by whom I was surrounded. I did not forget that I was still in the desert, and had every thing to dread, should I fall a second time into their hands, or meet with another troop of robbers, to whom they might give information of our route, and who might possibly treat us with less complaisance.

"It was not enough for these banditti to appear just, they must also show themselves polite. The chief brought me his horse, and insisted upon my mounting it, to ride the short distance from the place where we were, to the monastery, while he followed me on foot. Some of the other Arabs paid the same compliment to my companions, each of them walking in like manner by the side of his horse. When we approached the walls, we saw coming down by a rope, baskets of bread, and wooden platters filled with lentils. Forming a circle on the sands, we partook of these provisions with people who a moment before appeared as our enemies. After the repast, some of them approached me with frankness and even with a kind of cordiality, thanking Heaven that I had met with no injury; and with a degree of interest, blamed me for my temerity in undertaking a journey into the desert, which

which they acknowledged was the resort only of thieves and banditti. They did not fail to offer up their prayers with great devotion, after having covered their arms and legs with sand, for want of the water necessary for the ablutions prescribed by their law. Mahomet, himself an Arab, foresaw how very frequently his followers might have occasion to traverse the deserts, and directed that whenever water could not be procured, sand might be used as a substitute.

"The *sheick* of the robbers applied to me for a gratification, observing, that he had kept none of my money, and that he had, besides, taken a great deal of trouble to have my property restored. I meant to have given him the sequins I had left; but Hussein, seeing this, flew into a violent passion, and protested that he would not suffer me to give him a single medine. And, in fact, although I endeavoured to deceive his vigilance, I could find no opportunity of making my present to the other *sheick*.

"Hussein's obstinacy, which doubtless was dictated by the most generous motives, irritated our new friends, and had like to have made them once more our enemies. They, however, contented themselves with warning me to be upon my guard; for that another time they would behave in a very different manner, and begin by putting Hussein to death. But Hussein laughed at their threats, and still persisted in his refusal. Had he known that these people were then possessed of a great part of my money, he would not have let them had a moment's peace till the whole was restored.

"Lastly, that nothing might be wanting to complete the succession of these extraordinary scenes, the *sheick Abdalla*, for that was the name of the Bedouin chief, desired that I would write him a certificate, stating that I had met with him in the desert, and that he had taken nothing from me, but that, on the contrary, I was satisfied with his conduct. He caused one of the monks of the convent to descend by the same rope by which the plates and baskets had been let down: the certificate was written in Arabic, and presented to me to sign. Having most assuredly no desire to attest the good conduct of such banditti, I assumed a name which had some analogy to our adventure, and subscribed it *La Déroute*. Abdalla care-

fully pocketed this *valuable paper*, and left us, after having wished me a very good journey, and once more cautioned me to be on my guard. His advice was unnecessary: I had fully resolved to use every precaution in my power, that I might not again be taken by surprise.

"I learned that these Arabs were apprized of our journey, and from its commencement had followed our route. They had been lurking under the walls of the monastery since three o'clock in the morning, and had informed the monks that some *Franks* would arrive there that very day. Till the moment when they perceived us, they had been concerting the manner in which they might attack us with the smallest risk; for they were not free from apprehension, knowing that we were well armed. For some time they had resolved not to show themselves, but to let us approach so near that they could easily shoot us: at the entreaty of the Copts, however, they consented to drop this plan of assassination.

"Having got rid of these dangerous people, I was obliged to enter into a long altercation with the monks. Having been spectators of what had passed in the morning on the plain, they could have no doubt of our being Europeans; they pretended, however, not to believe it, and required that one of us should demonstrate to a father sent on purpose as an examiner, that we had not undergone any religious mutilation. This obstacle being removed, a fresh difficulty was started. They insisted upon drawing us up by the rope, as the only mode of admission. Their convent, the walls of which are very high, is enclosed on all sides, with the exception of a small door, or iron wicket, and I desired to be admitted by this *natural* entrance. The Copts asserted that the door was not opened but on particular occasions, when they received their provisions, and never when Arabs were roving about in the neighbourhood; they therefore entreated me to fasten myself to the rope. In order to show us the convenience of this method of travelling in the air, the monk who was with us suspended himself to the rope, and he was immediately, by means of a pulley, drawn up like the bucket of a well. Two or three of my party, thinking that they saw the Bedouins still at their heels, suffered themselves to be hoisted up in the same manner. Their example had no effect upon

upon me; and as there was a gate, I insisted that it should be opened. I was seconded by Hussein, who swore that if the monks did not afford shelter to his camels, he would return in a few days, and exterminate every soul in the convent. His threats were more efficacious than my solicitations, and the wicket was opened to us, not without extraordinary precaution. But as it was much too low to allow the camels to enter, Hussein made them lie down upon a mat, and, to prevent them from rising, tied one of their legs, by a cord passed round their back. By the joint exertions of several men, the camels, having their heads held down, were, one after another, dragged in upon the mat. I was at a loss which to admire most, the ingenuity of the Arab in making a large animal go through a small wicket, or the patience of the camel in suffering itself to be tied, jerked, and dragged in this extraordinary manner.

"It was quite dark before we and our beasts were all got into the convent. The monks conducted the whole party, except Hussein, to their chapel. We there attended a very long service, which was followed by a rather scanty supper, consisting only of plain boiled rice." P. 340.

(To be continued.)

LXXI. *The History of Berwick upon Tweed*; including a short Account of the Villages of Tweedmouth and Spittal, &c. By JOHN FULLER, M. D. Berwick. 8vo. pp. 601. Appen. pp. 50. 7s. 6d. Fine Paper 10s. 6d. Bell and Bradfute, Edinburgh; Faulder, London.

LIST OF PLATES,

Drawn by Carle and Alexander. Engraved by Scott.

1. *PLAN of the Town of Berwick.*
2. *View of the Governor's House, &c.*
3. *View of the Barracks and Parade from the Walls above the Cow Port.*
4. *Inside View of Berwick Barracks.*
5. *View of the High Street and Town Hall from the Main Guard.*
6. *View of the Town Hall from the Head of the Hide Hill.*
7. *View of Berwick Church;*

8. *View of Berwick from the Carr Rock, south Side of the River.*

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION—Chap. I. Origin of the Name of Berwick—Description of the Town, &c.—Climate—Boundaries and Extent of the Liberties.—II. Ancient History of the Town—Remarkable Occurrences independent of the general History.—III. Public Buildings—IV. Constitution and Government.—V. Population.—VI. Ecclesiastical State.—VII. Charitable Institutions.—VIII. Education.—IX. Revenue Department.—X. Military Department.—XI. Manufactures and Trade.—XII. Fisheries.—XIII. Police.—XIV. Manners and Customs, Public Amusements, &c.—XV. Agricultural State of Country District.—XVI. Antiquities—Natural Curiosities—Minerals, &c.—XVII. A Dissertation on those Sciences and particular Subjects, which appear to be most intimately connected with the Improvement and growing Riches of a Country, and the Advancement of the human Mind. Conclusion—Advantages and Means of Improvement—Observations on the surrounding Country.—Appendix—containing the Charter of Berwick, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

"THE town of Berwick upon Tweed is one of the most celebrated in the history of Great Britain. From its having been a frontier garrison town, long before the glorious æra of the Union, and from its being situated close by the sea, and upon the banks of an unfordable river, it was considered, when in possession of the English, as a key to England; and, when in possession of the Scots, as a key to Scotland. Having of course become a bone of contention between those once contending kingdoms; it was but too often productive of scenes of the most cruel devastation and bloodshed.

"As its ancient history may serve to throw considerable light upon those great events which formerly agitated and

and convulsed these two nations, we deem it incumbent upon us to give, in the following work, as ample a detail of it as is consistent with the limits of our publication. But the principal object of this work, is to lay before the public as complete an account as could be drawn up from the well-authenticated materials which we have been able, with much industry, to collect, respecting its present state, and the means of promoting its future improvement."

EXTRACTS.

ANCIENT HISTORY—BERWICK
STORMED BY EDWARD I.

"THE restless and ambitious spirit of Edward (I.) was productive of much calamity to this place. For Berwick having remained more than two thirds of a century in the undisturbed possession of the Scots, John Baliol, provoked by his haughtiness, in 1295 passed the Tweed with his army, and committed considerable depredations in England: his career, however, was soon checked by the forces of Edward, who, in the spring of 1296, obliged Baliol to resign his crown, and took the town and garrison, which he stormed both by sea and land. In the town there was a building called the *Red Hall*, which certain Flemings possessed by the tenure of defending it at all times against the King of England. Thirty of these maintained their ground for a whole day against the English army, but at night, the building being set on fire, all of them perished in the flames. The same day the castle capitulated; and the garrison, consisting of two thousand men, marched out with all the honours of war, after having sworn never to bear arms against England.

"Some idea may be formed of the population of the town from the slaughter attendant upon the assault. According to Boethius, 7,000; according to the Scottish historian Fordun, 7,500; and, if we were to credit Matthew of Westminster, no smaller a number than 60,000 were cruelly butchered on that occasion. Previous to the reduction of the town and castle, three ships, belonging to the English navy, were burnt in the haven by the townsmen; and it is said that the others, which were much disabled, had considerable difficulty in escaping, owing to their having imprudently sailed over the bar into the harbour, their

crews wishing to participate in the glory of the army. What number of Edward's troops were slain is not particularly mentioned either by the Scottish or English historians of these days. Hutchinson mentions, that this carnage may be ascribed to a resentment of the cruelties committed the preceding year by the men of Berwick, and the fighting men of Fife, in attacking certain English vessels that had entered the port, setting fire to the ships, and putting the several crews to death.

"Berwick, after this catastrophe, became filled with English inhabitants, and the King received the homage of the Scots nobility here, on the 24th of August 1296, in the presence of an English Parliament summoned for that purpose. An Exchequer, for the receipt of the Scots revenue, was established here the succeeding year, on the same principles of that at Westminster.

"It would appear as if fate had decreed, that the English should not remain long in possession of this garrison town in these ages; for the renowned Sir William Wallace, in the year 1297, took arms in defence of the kingdom; and having appeared with his forces before the place, the inhabitants quickly evacuated it. Some writers blame Cressingham, the King's treasurer, for this unfortunate event, in having neglected to fortify the garrison, agreeable to the express orders of Edward himself. The castle, however, which was strong and well maintained, after a long blockade, was happily relieved by an immense army of horse and foot sent by the regency.

"Wallace, notwithstanding the success with which his insurrection was at first crowned, after experiencing different reverses of fortune, was shamefully betrayed into the hands of his enemies; and in 1305, he was executed, and one half of his body ordered to be exposed on the bridge of Berwick. Many persons of note, among whom was Neil, the brother of Robert Bruce, were taken prisoners and sent to Berwick, where they were condemned, and sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

"King Edward ordered the Countess of Buchan to be shut up in a wooden cage, in one of the towers of Berwick castle, for having crowned Robert Bruce King of Scotland at Scone; arrogantly assuming to herself
the

the office of her brother the Earl of Fife, whose duty only it was, by hereditary right, to execute that high office. During six years she continued in this confinement, when, by the royal clemency of Edward II. she was released." P. 72.

MARRIAGE OF JOAN SISTER TO EDWARD III.

"IN 1328, Joan, sister to King Edward III. having entered into a contract of marriage with David, son and heir of Robert Bruce, was conveyed to Berwick with great pomp and splendour, where she was received by Earl Murray and Lord Douglas, the representatives of the King, he himself being then sick; and the nuptials were celebrated with great joy and magnificence. She obtained the appellation of *Make Peace*; and brought with her the Ragman Roll, and all the records which had been carried off by Edward I. to be again deposited among the archives of Scotland.

"Upon occasion of this royal marriage, the nobles of both nations made a magnificent show; and a sumptuous display of the numerous attendants crowded the place with that ostentatious solemnity which, in those days of chivalry, embellished public spectacles. What constituted the chief objects, which more especially attracted the attention of the numerous spectators, who eagerly pressed forward to witness this splendid cavalcade, were long trains of horses superbly caparisoned; men arrayed in glittering armour, and stiffened in coats of mail, resembling effigies of steel, and, being strapped to their saddles, had more the appearance of inanimate than living beings.

"Lord Mortimer's retinue alone consisted of nine score knights, richly caparisoned, with their esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen." P. 85.

BERWICK BESIEGED BY EDWARD III. —FATE OF THE TWO SONS OF SIR ALEX. SETON.

"THE English did not recover Berwick till the seventh year of the reign of Edward III. after the memorable battle of Halldown Hill. King Edward, on being refused the homage of David Bruce, and the restitution of Berwick being withheld from him, VOL. III.—No. XXVIII.

commanded his herald to proclaim his defiance of the Scotch king, which, in these times, was equivalent to a declaration of war. This incited the English army to besiege Berwick, which commenced on the 12th of April 1333.

"The Scots, convinced that the reduction of this town would be one of the first objects of their enemies' enterprise, put it into as complete a posture of defence as possible; and in order to resist the formidable attack they dreaded it would sustain, they threw into it a garrison of chosen veterans, appointing Sir William Keith their governor, and Patrick Earl of Dunbar keeper of the chief fortress or citadel. The King of England, animated with all the enthusiasm and ardour of a young hero, repaired to the scene of action, before the walls of Berwick, where he remained in person about a month, when perceiving, from the strength of the garrison and the resolute defence it made, that the place could not easily be reduced, he led part of his army into Scotland. In this roaming expedition, after taking and garrisoning Edinburgh castle, he crossed the Firth at Queensferry, and overran the country as far as Scone and Dundee, carrying carnage and devastation in his train. Not fatigued with these enormous cruelties, he pushed those shocking ravages of war so far westward as into the neighbourhood of Dumbarton castle, where King David and his Queen were placed for safety.

"Glutted with the blood of his fellow-creatures, and loaded with spoil, Edward, with his army, returned to Berwick, which place he found still held out. He then changed the siege into a complete blockade both by sea and land.

"The besieged, suffering by having their supplies cut off, made many vigorous sallies, either with the view to drive off their enemies, or to force a passage through their lines. They made a desperate attack upon the fleet, by which the greater part of the navy, at that time lying before Berwick, was burnt. In this assault Sir William Seton, natural son of Sir Alexander Seton, was drowned in endeavouring to leap from one vessel into another; and in a fall by land one of his legitimate sons was made prisoner.

"The brave garrison still did not despair of receiving relief, and there-
3 C fore

for: would not accede to terms of capitulation.

"Lord Douglas had raised a mighty army, with which he marched to the neighbourhood of Berwick; but how great was the astonishment of the garrison, when, in full hopes of almost an immediate deliverance, instead of falling upon the English, Douglas crossed the Tweed, and, in full view of the town, proceeded along the coast towards Bamborough castle, which having been deemed impregnable, was fixed on by Edward as affording a residence of great security for his Queen, who at that time was lodged there. The eagerness of the Scotch still to retain possession of Berwick, impelled Douglas to block up the former fortresses for several days, and to commit depredations in the neighbourhood, flattering himself that King Edward's regard for his Queen would induce him to raise the siege of Berwick: but the English monarch remained inflexible, and could not be moved from his determined purposes.

"The garrison being now reduced to a scarcity of provisions, and sinking under the apparent neglect of Douglas, proposed to treat, which King Edward attended to; and the capitulation was concluded on the 15th July, under the following conditions: That the town and castle should be delivered up to King Edward on the 20th, provided it should not be relieved by 200 men at arms, or by a battle; that in this interval a cessation of arms should take place; that, in the event of a surrender, the lives and properties of the inhabitants should be protected; that the governor should be permitted to resort to the Scotch army to communicate the articles.

"Sir William Keith repairing to the Scotch camp, there prevailed that the relief of the place should not be attempted.

"This measure was greatly disapproved of by several of the old and most experienced of the Scotch army.

"During this time a transaction is reported to have taken place which sullies the lustre of Edward's military fame, and fixes an indelible stain on his memory. It stands upon record to the following purport, by Buchanan and Bogge, and other Scotch authors of great credit. Hostages were delivered by the Scots for the performance of what related to them in the treaty, one

of whom was the eldest son of Sir Alexander Seton, who was deputy governor, and who took command on Keith's resorting to the camp. King Edward had also at this time in custody Seton's younger son, who had been taken prisoner during the assault made on the navy.

"The king, strongly impressed with an apprehension, that if the Scotch army approached he might fail in the capture of Berwick, an object of so great importance; soon after Keith departed, in direct opposition to the faith of kings—the sacred ties of treaties—the common policy of nations—and independent of all private honour, insisted upon the immediate surrender of the town, threatening, if the governor refused, he would instantly hang up his two sons, the hostage and the prisoner, in front of the ramparts.

"This unexpected and barbarous message excited a panic in the breast of the governor, which was followed by a conflict to agonizing between the strongest and noblest passions of which the mind of man is susceptible, resulting from the bonds of nature, and a nice sense of duty and honour, that sets at defiance all the powers of language justly to describe. In vain did Seton remonstrate; for Edward, deaf to all the charges urged against him for so flagrant a violation of public faith, ordered a gibbet to be erected in full view of the town to carry into execution his most detestable threat.

"Seton, nobly struggling between contending impulses that put every sentiment on the rack, it would appear, would have yielded to nature, and thereby saved the lives of his children by sacrificing his country's honour and his own, had not the mother, with a degree of heroism worthy of a Roman matron, and equal to the greatness of the most exalted mind, stepped forward, and, with the most forcible eloquence, argued to support his principles and sustain his trembling soul; and, while the bias of parental affection yet inclined him to relax, she withdrew him from the shocking spectacle, that he might preserve his rectitude, though at the inestimable price of his two sons. Edward, with an unrelenting heart, put them both to death, and Seton kept possession of the town. English historians, almost without exception, deny the perpetration of this deed. This denial of theirs, however, seems

seems to be futile in opposition to that uniformity which is found to prevail among the Scots historians. The truth of this execution is farther confirmed by a tradition that has continued in Berwick down to this day. This fatal spot, on the south side of the river, a little above the bridge well, accords with the account given by historians of its being full in view of the ramparts of the town. The author was shown this place by a very old person of respectability. It is a considerable eminence, situated about 100 yards distant from, and opposite to a fishing water, formerly called the Pool; but ever since that dire event has been termed *Hang-a-dyke-nook*: moreover, the remains of two human skulls are to be seen at this day in the poor-house of Tweedmouth, which the oldest and most respectable inhabitants of that village affirm to have been handed down from generation to generation, as being the skulls of Sir Alexander Seton's two sons." P. 88.

"From what has been related in the former section, it will appear that the English and Scots, who had for ages harboured an implacable hatred to each other, exasperated at the right which the English nation claimed to the crown of Scotland, were almost constantly engaged in war. Their national antipathies were excited, not only by frequent hostilities, and reciprocal injuries; but the English considered the Scotch as vassals who had presumed to rebel, and the Scots, in their turn, looked upon the English as usurpers, who aimed at enslaving their country. Happily, however, upon the union of the two crowns, these martial nations, who had long been strangers to the arts of peace, began gradually to enjoy the fruits of that repose which had been long and early fought after by both kingdoms." P. 138.

SALMON FISHERY.

"THE salmon fishery constitutes the most interesting branch of trade carried on in Berwick.

"It has been stated, that there are

about 300 men employed in the fisheries.

"The Tweed salmon is of the very best quality. The fishing commences on the 10th of January, and continues till the 10th of October.

"Some seasons salmon are very plenty, and others very scarce. We have seen from one to 100 of them taken at a draught: but we are assured, that there have been many instances of from 200 to 500 taken at one haul; and, if report is to be credited, 700 have been brought on shore at one draught.

"The capture of salmon in the 'Tweed,' says Mr. Pennant, 'about the month of July, is prodigious. In a good fishery, often a boat-load, and sometimes near two, are taken in a tide: some few years ago, there were above 700 fish taken at one haul; but from 50 to 100 is very frequent.'

"Besides salmon, there are gillies and trouts caught in the Tweed.

"The present rental of all the fishing waters together, from the mouth of the river to Norham, which is seven miles from Berwick, is about 10,000*l.* yearly, exclusive of the tithes.

"All the salmon sent to London from this place, were, till of late, boiled and put into kits; but that practice has, for some years past, been laid aside. The whole of the salmon are now sent in ice, which has been discovered to preserve the fish fresh for a long time. How this came to be first known in Berwick was owing to the following circumstance: Mr. Dempster, a member of Parliament, about twelve years ago, calling on Mr. John Richardson of Perth, at his fishery, told him, it was a practice on the continent to pack salmon in ice, as it had been found to preserve them so fresh that they might be sent many hundred miles without spoiling. This induced Mr. Richardson to make the trial; the result of which not only corroborated the fact, but also proved to be very lucrative to Mr. Richardson.

"The same experiment was made here, and with success, in the year 1788. Since that period several ice-houses* have been built in this place; and

* "The aspect of ice-houses should be towards the east, or south-east, for the advantage of the morning sun to expel the damp air, as that is more pernicious than warmth; for which reason trees, in the vicinity of an ice-house, tend to its disadvantage. The best soil for an ice-house to be made in is chalk, as it conveys away the waste water without any artificial drain; next to that, loose stony

and the quantity of ice put into them yearly is astonishing. The two companies laid in 7600 cart-loads between them last winter; expense about 45*sol.* for ice. There are thirty-two salmon coopers in Berwick.

"There are four different modes of catching salmon usually employed at present, viz. the sweep, the fiell, the bobb, and the hanging nets.

"The sale of salmon is entirely confined to the coopers; none are brought to public market. The coopers, however, are always ready to oblige any person with a salmon at the market price.

"When the gills become plenty, which generally happens about the latter end of July, the women call them through the streets.

"Ever since the introduction of ice in preserving salmon, their price has greatly risen.

"For several years past, salmon has sold from 3*s.* to 3*s.* per stone. They have been known to be sold as low as 6*d.* or 7*d.* per stone." P. 421.

PURE QUICKSILVER

"HAS been repeatedly found in considerable quantities in Hide-hill.

"We subjoin the following communication from the Reverend Mr. Rumney on that subject:

"About thirty years ago, in digging for a foundation and a cellar within a few yards of the Cat Well, in Hide-hill, great quantities of quicksilver were found mixed with the stiff earth or clay which was dug out. Several cart-loads of this clay were carried to the shore before it was known to be so mixed with the quicksilver; and this stratum of clay and quicksilver extended for some yards, as far as the proprietor had occasion to dig. And four or five years ago, the proprietor of the house adjoining up the hill found the same stratum, I am credibly informed. I myself took up a piece of the clay, about the size of an egg, and, upon breaking it in two, the quicksilver sparkled and rolled out in little globules; and that small piece of clay produced as much pure quicksilver, to the best of my recollection, as would have filled a tea-spoon. The query is, How came it

there? I cannot conceive that any person could have had such a quantity in his possession, and that it had been spilled; nor, if it had been spilled, that it could have insinuated itself so equally in such small globules throughout an extent, and to such depth, of a stiff earth or clay; but am inclined to believe, as many others do, that there is some sort of mine of that metal in that neighbourhood."

"Several persons who gathered some of the quicksilver have informed us that the metal was very uniformly mixed with the clay, and in great abundance." P. 472.

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stony earth, or gravelly soil. Its situation should be on the side of a hill, for the advantage of entering the cell upon a level."

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EXTRACTS.

CHARACTER OF PIUS VI.—HIS TASTE
FOR SPLENDID ENTERPRISES—HIS
VANITY.

"PIUS VI. was neither wicked nor weak; but he had several glaring de-

fects, which could not escape the least discerning eye; and caprices which formed a striking contrast with the majestic gravity of the part he had to play. Nobody denied him several brilliant qualities, considerable capacity, an agreeable turn of mind, manners at once noble and prepossessing, an easy and florid style of elocution, as much information as could be expected in a priest imbued with the principles of his profession, and a taste for the arts tolerably correct. Impatient, irascible, obstinate, and susceptible of prejudices, he was, however, neither obstinately rancorous, nor premeditatedly malevolent. Few instances can be quoted of his sensibility; many may be adduced of his good-nature. In less difficult circumstances, and with means proportioned to his views, he would, perhaps, have passed for a prudent sovereign. But his ruling passion was an excessive love of fame, which was the principal source of his faults and of his misfortunes. It was that love of fame, which, when not joined to a strong mind, often degenerates into puerile vanity. He would have wished to signalize his pontificate in every manner; and to associate his name with the most splendid enterprises. His vanity, which was apparent in every thing, drew upon him frequent mortifications. Descended from a family scarcely noble, he plumed himself, from the very beginning of his reign, upon his illustrious race. To the modest coat of arms of his ancestors, he added all the vain embellishments of blazonry; and composed an escutcheon which afforded ample room for ridicule. It is well known that the Italian people are more apt, perhaps, than any other, to lay hold of any thing ridiculous with merciless avidity. To two wings, of which the arms of his family consisted, he added an eagle, *seurs-de-lys*, and stars. These pompous armorial bearings were cruelly criticised in the following distich:

* Redde aquilam imperio, Francorum
lilia regi,
* Sidera redde polo; cætera, Brasche,
tua.

* Restore your eagle to the Empire;
his lilies to the king of France; and
the stars to heaven: the rest, Braschi,
is your own.

"His arms and his name were repeated a thousand times over in Rome;
and

and in the rest of the ecclesiastical state. They are to be seen, not only upon the monuments which are erected, and upon such as he repaired, but even upon those in which he made the smallest change; and unless Rome be utterly destroyed, the name of Pius Sextus, thanks to his provident vanity, will descend to the latest posterity. While changing the Roman government, the French commissaries expunged it from all the profane monuments; but it still exists upon all the sacred edifices in which Pius VI. had the most remote concern. It was calculated, in 1786, that this rage for availing himself of the slightest pretence for immortalizing his name had already cost the treasury two hundred thousand crowns. It was this incurable vanity, rather than his piety or taste for the arts, which suggested to him the idea of constructing a sacristy by the side of St. Peter's church. He there displayed a magnificence which may dazzle at first sight; but which cannot conceal its numerous defects from the eye of the connoisseur. Good taste may indeed apply to him the famous sentence pronounced by Apelles upon the Venus of a painter of his time: *you have made her fine, because you could not make her beautiful.* In like manner the sacristy of St. Peter's, which cost more than sixteen hundred thousand Roman crowns, is overloaded with all the most gaudy decorations which architecture, sculpture, gilding, and painting, can afford; but it only appears so much the meaner when compared with the superb edifice, by the side of which it stands. It is the design of Carlo Marchionni, an architect of inferior talents, and recalls to mind the defective school of Boromini; the style being altogether low and ignoble. Its dimensions are contrary to the rules of art; and it is full of nothing but breaks, niches, and projections. The columns and the altars are, in a manner, concealed in obscure corners; and the whole is furcharged with ornaments of the most tasteless kind.

"In order to erect this monument to his glory, much rather than to that of the God whose vicar he called himself, it was necessary to pull down the Temple of Venus, for which Michael Angelo had so much veneration, that

he would have considered the mere idea of touching it as sacrilege.

"It may be easily conceived that Pius VI. was not sparing of inscriptions in the sacristy of St. Peter's. Over the principal entrance were inscribed these words:

'Quod at templi Vaticani ornamentum publica vota flagitabant, Pius VI. pontifex maximus, fecit perfectumque anno, &c.'

"How great must have been his mortification, when under this inscription he found the following insolent lines:

'Publica! mentiris. Non publica vota fuere,

'Sed tumidi ingenii vota fuere tui.

"Thou liest! the public voice was not consulted; thou followedst the dictates of thy vanity alone."

"That motive actuated him in all his enterprises: before his elevation to the pontificate he had possessed the abbey of Subiaco, at the distance of twenty miles from Rome. There also he displayed, in the most expensive manner, his taste for magnificence. An abbey in which he had resided, a church in which he had celebrated the holy mysteries, could not be suffered to remain in obscurity. He spent considerable sums in embellishing Subiaco; and this is not one of the smallest reproaches that may be brought against his prodigality.

"A protector of the arts, more out of ostentation than taste, he connected his name with the famous museum, which constituted one of the most beautiful and most useful ornaments of the Vatican; and the kind of glory, thence resulting to his pontificate, is not altogether usurped. That glory had tempted him when he was as yet only treasurer of the Apostolical Chamber. The famous statue of Apollo Belvédère was, in a manner, exiled, with several others, in one of the court-yards of the Vatican. Braschi suggested to Clement XIV. the idea of forming on that spot a collection of ancient monuments; and, as treasurer, presided over the first rudiments of this establishment. When seated upon the pontifical throne, he added body and confidence to his brilliant project. He built round the court-yard of the Apollo vast apartments, which he ornamented with sta-

* "What the public voice demanded for the decoration of the church of the Vatican, Pius VI. sovereign pontiff, began and completed in the year, &c."

tues, busts, terms, and bas-reliefs; and gave to the rich collection a title which associated his name with that of his predecessor. He called it the *Musæum Pio-Clementinum*. That museum gradually became one of the most valuable in Europe; Pius VI. neglecting nothing to enrich it. He claimed the right of pre-emption whenever any antique was discovered; and, by thus eluding the greedy interference of the antiquaries, procured monuments of art at the first hand, and at a moderate price. There it was that his vanity provided abundantly for its own gratification. Beneath each piece of sculpture which he had acquired, these words were engraved in letters of gold: *Munificentia Pii VI. P. M.* Most of these monuments of art stood in a bad light, and could not be seen to advantage without the assistance of a torch, the wavering gleams of which added to their beauty, by giving them life (if it may be so said); the only thing in which some of them were defective. It was thus that connoisseurs went to admire the Ganymed, the Apollo Musagetes, the Torso, the Laocoon, and, above all, the famous Apollo Belvedere, which is alone worth a whole museum.

"Engravings and explanations of the principal works of art, thus collected, began to be published in 1783, under the auspices of Pius VI.; who was much flattered by the compliment. Lewis Myris undertook the task; and the learned Visconti, who, in the first moment of the revolution, was elevated to the consulate of Rome, added to the plates a luminous commentary, which at once proves his taste, his sagacity, and his erudition. They were both, it must be confessed, powerfully seconded by the pope. The first six volumes of this work, in folio, had already appeared in 1792; and the seventh was ready when the political commotions in Italy began. All lovers of antiquity must regret the suspension of this undertaking; which does double honour to the pontificate of Pius VI.

"Wherever there was any thing more splendid than useful to be done, the zeal of that pontiff, and particularly his name, were sure to appear. Wishing to embellish the entrance of the Quirinal palace, where he resided during the summer season, he raised at great expense, in 1783, the obelisk which was lying upon the ground near

the Scala Santa, and placed it between those two equestrian statues, that have given to the eminence on which the palace stands the name of Monte Cavallo.

"Though the erection of this obelisk was in itself a thing little meritorious, adulation made it serve as a pretence for lavishing upon the holy father, in pompous inscriptions, the most ridiculously bombastic praise. But the Roman people, who were suffering a privation of the most necessary articles of life, while the treasury was exhaurishing itself in embellishing their city, did not partake of the enthusiasm felt by the authors of those inscriptions. A wag, who preferred food to obelisks, gave on this occasion a lesson to his Holiness, by applying to him a well-known passage of the gospel. He wrote these words at the bottom of the obelisk:

' Signore, di a questa pietra che divenga pane.'

' Lord, command that these stones be made bread.'

"Pius VI. took pattern from Him whose vicar he was, and abstained from the miracle.

"This rage for putting his name every where, and for suffering his munificence to be celebrated upon the most trifling occasions, exposed him to more than one sarcasm of a similar kind. It is well known that there was no other bread made at Rome but little round loaves, weighing a few ounces, which were called *pagnotte*, and which cost two *baiocchi*, or about two French sous apiece. The price never varied; but according as corn was more or less dear, the size of the *pagnotta* was diminished or increased. At a moment of scarcity, when the administrators of provisions had been obliged to make an extraordinary reduction in the weight of the *pagnotta*, one of those innocent mal-contents, who exhale all their gall in raillery, thought proper to put an exceedingly small *pagnotta* into the hand of Patquin, and to write under the statue those pompous words, so often repeated in Rome, *Munificentia Pii Sexti*.

"Bells had a double title to his predilection. They were connected with that worship, by the pomp of which he was so much flattered; and the greater their size, the farther off did they announce the holy personage by whose orders they were set in motion. Malignity reproached him, in this particular,

particular, with more than one grave puerility. There was, in St. Peter's church at Rome, a bell which only weighed 21,244lb. He ordered it to be re-cast in the year 1783, with the addition of 400 quintals of metal. Three years afterwards he had another cast of 280 quintals, and christened it with great solemnity. Barbarous verses were afterwards engraved upon it, which attracted the admiration of the devout, and offended men of taste. It was loaded with valuable pearls, and decorated with eight dolphins, a crown, and 2 thousand other ornaments; but the founder's art had failed him: the bell had no sound. The wags made themselves merry at the expense of the bell, the founder, and the godfather. They voted that this abortion should be deposited either in the *Museum Pio-Clementinum*, or in the arsenal, after the example of the Abderitan fages, who were of an opinion somewhat similar in regard to a well, which was very skillfully constructed, and which wanted nothing but water.

"But it was in the performance of his pontifical functions, above all, that his taste for ostentation was displayed, and that his vanity found frequent opportunities. It must be confessed, that on those occasions he was as much favoured by nature as by the pompous ceremonies of the Roman catholic church. He was in all respects one of the handsomest men of his time. To a very lofty stature he joined a noble and expressive set of features, and a florid complexion, which the hand of time itself seemed to spare. He contrived to wear his pontifical habits in such a way, that they deprived him of none of his personal advantages. In every thing he did he displayed them with a refinement of coquetry which gave great scope to ridicule. When elevated to the papacy, he had, in conformity with a custom that had grown into a law, laid aside the peruke, which he wore while cardinal. His forehead was entirely bald; but there remained behind, and on each side of his head, a ring of hair of the most brilliant white, which gave him a look at once noble and venerable. He had also one of the handsomest legs in Italy; and was not a little vain of it. Not wishing that his long pontifical robes should entirely conceal that part of his person, to the adorning of which he was always scrupulously attentive, he took great care

to hold them up on one side, so that one of his legs was entirely exposed to view. This affected display of his hair and legs, so unworthy of a grave pontiff, gave occasion to the following distich, which, though bad enough in itself, serves, however, as a proof that no opportunity was lost of turning him into ridicule:

*'Aspice, Roma, Pium. Pius! baud est:
aspice minum—*

'Luxuriante comâ, luxuriante pede.

"Rome, look at Pius. He Pius! no indeed:

"He is a comedian. Behold the display of his hair;

"And see how vain he is of his leg."

"Nothing, indeed, was more striking than to see him, on days of great parade, crowned with the triple diadem, arrayed in robes of the most dazzling white, which contrasted with the splendour of the Roman purple, soaring in a manner over a crowd of ecclesiastics of every rank, and seeming thereby to announce his sway over the universal church. On these solemn occasions all the members of the clergy came and adored him repeatedly; and each class in a different way. The cardinals were not permitted to kiss his hand till they had bowed down before his throne. The prelates and heads of orders bowed still more humbly, and only rose as high as his knees; while the inferior clergy remained at his feet. The allegory of the statuary, prostrate before the work of his own hands, was never better applied, than to this stupid veneration, particularly of the cardinals for the sovereign pontiff—the creature of their intrigues and of their caprices; in which not one of them, perhaps, seriously thought that he saw the work of the Holy Ghost.

"It is needless to say with what an eye of pity philosophy looks down upon this humiliating homage, paid by a multitude of reasonable beings to one of their fellow-creatures. Many spectators, however; many even of those who were the most strongly guarded against all these vain illusions, could not help feeling a strong emotion at the sight of the pomp that surrounded St. Peter's chair, especially while it was occupied by Pius VI. The greatest magnificence accompanied him whenever he went out. A carriage, at the back of which he was seated alone in an
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arm chair richly ornamented, moved forward, escorted by servants on horseback, and in long clothes, driven by a coachman and postilions, with their heads uncovered, rolling along majestically slow between two rows of foot soldiers, and followed by detachments of light horse and cuirassiers. It was impossible for any thing to be more striking." *Vol. i. p. 81.*

"The jubilee of 1775, in all probability the last, was celebrated with a degree of magnificence, surpassing that of all the preceding ones. It was on this occasion that Pius VI. gave the first proof of his taste for pompous ceremonies. One of the principal circumstances of the festival, that indeed which may be called the first act of it, is the opening of the famous *porta santa*, or sacred door. This door, which is one of those of St. Peter's church, remained constantly shut except during the holy year. It was then opened with a parade of which Pius VI. took care not to diminish the effect. It was his office to preside over the demolition of a brick wall, that closed the entrance of the sacred door. Advancing with majestic gravity, he struck the first stroke, and instantly the wall fell to the ground under the redoubled blows of the workmen, to whom the signal had been given. The pious spectators eagerly seized upon the materials; each stone being an object of high veneration. By their contact with that which was laid four-and-twenty years before by the sacred hands of the sovereign pontiff, they had acquired the virtue of curing all sorts of diseases. According to custom, the *porta santa* remained open during all the holy year, and was the scene of the most ridiculous mummery. The pope himself did not pass through it without exhibiting marks of the most profound respect; while the pilgrims, disdaining the numerous passages which lead into the church of St. Peter, entered it only by crawling under the sacred door upon their hands and knees. It was shut with great solemnity at the end of the year. The Pope approached, sitting upon a kind of throne, and surrounded by the cardinals; and an anthem was sung, accompanied by loud music: it was the lyre of Amphion about to rebuild the walls of Thebes. The pontiff then descended with a gold trowel in his hand; laid the first stone of the wall which was to last twenty-five years; put a little mortar upon it; and reas-

cended his throne. Real masons took his place, and completed the blocking up of the sacred door, the ceremony closing with a solemn mass. Thus did the Roman Catholics lavish the august mysteries of their religion, sometimes upon the baptism of a bell, and sometimes upon the rebuilding of a wall.

"The following day the festival was continued, Pius VI. displaying in it all his great talents for acting, which were hitherto but little known. He was already near sixty years of age; but his complexion still retained somewhat of the brilliant colouring of youth. The Romans, accustomed to see their pontiff's bending under the weight of years, and labouring in the performance of their public functions, which were often long and fatiguing, admired the address and grace with which the new pope acquitted himself of his task. The church seemed to grow young again, and to have a right, as well as Pius VI. to expect prosperous days.

"It was shortly afterwards that the beauty of his person received an homage, to which the vicars of Jesus Christ were not accustomed. While Pius VI. was passing through a street of Rome, carried along with a splendour suitable to his dignity, a voice was heard from one of the windows, which were crowded with curious spectators. It was that of a young woman: *Quanto è bello! quanto è bello!* cried she, in a moment of enthusiasm. An old woman, in haste to correct any thing that might appear too profane in this exclamation, replied, with her hands joined, and her eyes lifted up towards heaven, *Tanto è bello quanto è santo!* It is said, that such a compliment gave Pius VI. more secret satisfaction than all the incense lavished upon him by the prelates at the altar, and all the genuflections of the Sacred College." *Vol. i. p. 104.*

"As pope, he could not lead a more exemplary life; but as a man, and as a sovereign, he, no doubt, exposed himself to many and serious reproaches. An erroneous opinion had been formed of him in many respects. When rendered more conspicuous by his eminent station, he soon discovered a great ignorance of worldly affairs, particularly of politics; an obstinacy which never yielded to a direct attack; and an invincible attachment to certain prejudices, inseparable perhaps from his profession, but of which he neither suspected the inconvenience nor the dan-

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ger. He entertained the most favourable idea of his own capacity. Rather headstrong than firm, he was constantly undoing what he had done; and this mixture of vanity and weakness was attended with two serious inconveniences. What was no more than inconsistency, and want of resolution, was taken for duplicity. Coldly affable, he never felt a real affection for any one; nor ever knew what it was completely to unbosom himself, unless when fear rendered him communicative.

"Out of the five cardinals, who were successively his secretaries of state, there was not one who could flatter himself with having enjoyed his entire confidence. He granted it, but still under certain restrictions, to Gerdyl and Antonelli, two other cardinals; consulting them solely about matters in which he thought he could derive advantage from their talents.

"Hasty, impetuous, and sometimes even passionate, he required to be curbed by fear, or soothed by affectionate language, which indicated an attachment to his interest, without hurting his pride. Cardinal de Bernis said of him, towards the end of the year 1777, *I watch over him incessantly, as over a child of an excellent disposition; but too full of spirits, and capable of throwing itself out of the window if left a moment alone.*

"*That excellent disposition* was afterwards in great measure spoiled by adulation, the possession of power, and the want of somebody bold enough to tell him the truth, or inclined to take the trouble. Faults gradually manifested themselves that the most clear-sighted had not even suspected. His long pontificate was, besides, a grievance which neither the cardinals nor the people of Rome could pardon him. In short, a concurrence of unlucky circumstances, to which he knew not how to accommodate himself, added to his improvidence and to his vanity, the principal source of his prodigality, and of his taste for brilliant, but expensive enterprises, rendered him in the end more odious than many princes who have been really wicked. One of his operations alone will find favour with posterity, and even immortalize his name, although infected with that principal fault which manifested itself in every thing, and which was not one of the smallest causes of his sorrows: this is the draining,

which he at least began, of the Pontine marshes." *Vol. i. p. 110.*

THE POPE REMOVED FROM ROME.

"IT remains for us to speak of the chief of that family, which, by a series of imprudent acts, suddenly fell from the pinnacle of greatness to the depths of the most deplorable humiliation. Pius, who, by his own obstinacy and the evil counsels to which he had given ear, had prepared the way for the overthrow of the Roman government, remained almost entirely ignorant of the catastrophe which completed that event. He was yet overwhelmed with the consternation caused by the entry of the avengers of Duphot, when he learned that the cardinals had abdicated their temporal authority: he saw General Cervoni enter, who at this time held the chief command in Rome: he came to announce to the pontiff that the people had thought proper to resume their sovereignty.—'And my dignity!' exclaimed his Holiness in the accent of profound grief.—'It is too intimately connected with religion, which the people are determined to preserve inviolate. They have so expressed their resolution in the solemn act which has been proclaimed in their name; and they promise to make for you a provision suitable to your rank.'—'And my person!' continued Pius.—'It is in perfect safety; and they engage to furnish a guard of a hundred and twenty men for its protection.'—Pius was silent, and resumed an air of resignation.

"But the hopes which this beginning had encouraged him to conceive were soon disappointed. Notwithstanding the wish so formally and solemnly announced by the people of Rome in favour of liberty, that capital harboured a considerable number of malcontents—of sincere fanatics, who considered the fall of the papal throne in no other light than as the downfall of religion—many hypocrites, who from motives of vanity and ambition were interested in supporting the ancient order of things. Under these circumstances, the presence of the Pope might give birth to conspiracies. Though he had, while vested with sovereignty, been viewed with the eyes of hatred, or at least of indifference, his misfortunes had now rendered him an object

of sympathetic interest. The French commissioners thought it indispensable to the public safety that he should be removed from Rome, and even from the Ecclesiastical State. He was conducted to Tuscany, not at the request of the Grand Duke, but with his consent, which that prince would have been very glad to have the liberty of refusing. He was sensible that the presence of such a guest might become troublesome, and even dangerous. Pius was at first conducted to Sienna.

"Here he lived in peace, and forgotten by almost every one except the devotees and some curious persons, when an earthquake shook the place which he had chosen for his retreat, and threw down several buildings. Pius lodged in the convent of St. Barbara; but, at the moment when the shock was felt, he happened to be walking in one of the public gardens of the city. He was hastily conveyed from within the walls of Sienna, to a country-house called by the name of *Hell*; which circumstance gave rise to the sarcasms of the undevout who had not felt compassion for his misfortune. After some time he was conducted to Florence. At the moment of his entering this city, the sky, which is usually so serene in Tuscany, was overcast with heavy clouds, and the rain fell in torrents. Malignity, which is so prompt, especially in Italy, to seize every opportunity of exercising itself, did not fail to observe that the Pope brought bad weather with him wherever he came.

"His first interview with the Grand Duke, which took place in presence of the Marquis Manfredini, was on both sides accompanied by marks of melting tenderness. The Grand Duke in particular was moved even to the shedding of tears: but he was not insensible of the inconvenience which might result to him from keeping the Pope in his capital. In a few days after his arrival, Pius was conducted to a Carthusian monastery, at the distance of two miles from Florence.

"The fallen pontiff did not appear so deeply affected by his situation as might have been supposed: his health, far from being impaired by a catastro-

phe which would have caused any other person in like circumstances to die with grief, seemed to be in a more flourishing state. His relish for the pleasures of the table accompanied him to his solitude: and, on that subject, the following anecdote is related by credible witnesses—On his arrival at the Carthusian convent, his Holiness, who, among the small suite of servants by whom he was accompanied, had not forgotten his cook, gave him permission to take his station in the conventual kitchen, and there ordered him to prepare for his table delicate viands which formed a striking contrast with the frugal fare of the monks. The latter, mortified no doubt by the comparison, pretended to be scandalized at the holy father's sensuality, and pronounced it to be the source of those calamities which desolated the church. The cook warmly defended the cause of his useful profession, and, in revenge for the ill humour shown by those recluses, slipped, unknown to them, a bit of meat into their peas soup*. This horrible plot being discovered, the monks utter shrieks of indignation, which reach the ears of his Holiness. Pius fancies he still hears the revolutionary storm growl around him; he inquires what cause has excited it: to avoid the repetition of such a scene, he orders that his kitchen be henceforward separate from that of the monks; and they congratulate themselves on no longer having before their eyes the scandalous exhibition of the sovereign pontiff's epicurism.

"Vanity, as another anecdote proves—and that particular species of it which was the least excusable in a pontiff and an old man—the vanity which is connected with external accomplishments did not abandon Pius in his retreat. There lived at Florence a young Hungarian painter, who was desirous of the honour of drawing his Holiness's portrait, with the intention, as he said, of presenting it to the Empress. He was conducted to the holy father, who accepted his offer with a sort of enthusiasm. 'Let your pencil,' said he to the young artist, 'revive that bloom and animated complexion which is

* "The Carthusians, observing a perpetual Lent, never eat flesh-meat: and according to the notions of their church, the smallest particle of flesh, or the smallest drop of its juice, mingled with any quantity of fasting fare, is sufficient to contaminate the whole mass so completely that whoever tastes of it is guilty of the no small crime of violating the fast!"

'somewhat faded through age and char- grin: paint me in scarlet robes, to give the greater relief to my features.' The painter is said to have paid docile obedience to the directions of the pontiff's vanity; and Pius, even in the season of disgrace, still found a flatterer. It is asserted that his eyes dwelt with pleasure on that portrait, which some years before would have been a very good likeness, and which, by an innocent deception, carried him back to a less advanced age, and to happier days.

"These anecdotes will to many people afford sufficient ground for dispensing with that pity which they might otherwise be inclined to bestow on him. Can we consider him as an object of compassion, when we see him so resigned, so contented, still so well disposed to relish the only indulgences that have been left within his reach?

"It is moreover asserted, that, instead of repining at his fate, he has several times protested that he had renounced all hope of ever revisiting Rome, and that his utmost wish was to conclude his days in peace in the Carthusian monastery. He enjoys there likewise some other consolations: he is not forgotten by all mankind in his obscure retreat: he has there received magnificent presents from all quarters. One day he saw ten purses brought in to him, each containing five hundred crowns. The donator chose to keep his name secret: all that is known is, that he was a Florentine. The present was accompanied by a note containing these words, 'To provide ten shirts for his Holiness.' Another Florentine caused a sedan chair to be constructed for him, richly gilt, decorated with all the symbols of the church, and displaying in front a silver plate inscribed with these words, which their author considered as prophetic, '*Post fata resurgo*.' Many prelates, and almost all the chiefs of the Catholic church, have made him considerable offers, which he has had the generosity to decline. But he accepts without scruple the favours tendered by sovereign princes. He receives a monthly pension of three thousand crowns from a neighbouring court: the King of Spain continues faithfully observant of his former custom of annually sending to him an abundant provision of drugs, wines, and tobacco: he has also given him testimonies of affectionate regard, which Pius has much more sensibly

felt; for that monarch has not only directed the cardinal Lorenzana to continue to reside near the pontiff, but has also sent him a dispatch, in which he assures him that he has not ceased to consider and to respect Pius VI. as 'head of the Catholic church.' Vol. i. p. 360.

LXXIII. *The History of the Thirty Years War in Germany.* Translated from the original German of FRED. SCHILLER, Aulic Counsellor, and Professor of Philosophy at Jena. By Captain BLAQUIERE, of the Royal Irish Artillery. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 690. With a Portrait of Frederic Schiller. 12s. Miller.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

"THE first volume of the present History appeared a few years since at Leipzig, in a periodical work, entitled, *The Ladies' Calendar*; and its great success induced the author to write the second. The work is, however, still in some

measure imperfect; and it is sincerely to be hoped, that he may be able to continue it as far as the memorable treaty of Munster, in Westphalia.

"The translator entertains too well grounded a diffidence of his abilities not to acknowledge, that he has given but a very feeble copy of an original, which is written with all the spirit and elegance of which the German, the most vigorous and eloquent perhaps of all modern languages, is capable of attaining. The German idiom is so different from our own, as not to admit of a literal translation; and the warmth of the author's imagination sometimes indulges itself in figures which are not consistent with the character rules of English history." P. vi.

EXTRACTS.

BATTLE OF LUTZEN—GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS KILLED.

"THE expectations of all Europe, which were disappointed in the camp before Nuremberg, were now to be satisfied on the plains of Lutzen. Two such generals, so similar in consequence, in fame, and in ability, had not yet opposed each other in the whole course of the war in a decisive battle, or rendered the issue so dubious. Europe, on the following morning, was to behold its greatest general and a victor opposed to the vanquished. Although the genius of Gustavus Adolphus, or the want of talents in his opponents, conquered at Leipzig and the Lech, that question must again be debated on the following day. The morning was to decide the Emperor's choice of Wallenstein's merit, and the greatness of his services was to repay the price at which they had been purchased; each man was jealous of the reputation of his general, and under every circumstance were excited those passions which actuated their commander. The victory was doubtful, but the carnage was certain; each side knew its enemy's strength, and the fear which was in vain endeavoured to be suppressed, gave a glorious proof of mutual strength.

"Darkness still covered the silent plain, and the approaching morning gave anxiety an awful delay to anticipate impending destruction and hope. Heavy on both sides passed the night, still more heavy expectation in every breast.

"At length the dreadful morning appeared;

appeared; but an impenetrable fog, which spread over the plain, still delayed the attack until noon. The King, in front of his army, knelt and performed his devotions; the whole army, after his example, falling on their knees, struck up a melodious hymn accompanied by military music. The King then mounted on horseback, and only clad in a leathern doublet and a cloth coat (for a wound which he had formerly received prevented him from wearing a coat of mail), rode through the ranks to inspire the troops with a courage which the doubts of his own breast contradicted. *God with us*, was the word on the part of the Swedes; *Jesus Maria*, with the Imperialists. About eleven o'clock the fog began to disperse, and the hostile forces were in sight of each other; Lutzen at that moment was discovered on fire, which had been done by the orders of Wallenstein, that he should not be outflanked on that side. The charge was now sounded, the cavalry advanced, and the King's infantry set itself in motion against the trenches.

"Received by a tremendous fire of musketry and heavy artillery, these intrepid battalions persevered in their attack; the enemy's musketeers left their posts, the trenches were passed, even the batteries were taken, and immediately turned against the Imperialists; they advanced still further with irresistible impetuosity; the first of Wallenstein's five brigades was thrown into confusion, soon after the second, and the third already began to betake itself to flight. But here Wallenstein's presence of mind exerted itself; he instantly rallied his troops, supported by three regiments of cavalry the flying brigades, formed anew, and attacked the Swedes. A murderous conflict ensued. The nearness of the enemy did not permit firing, nor the fury of the attack give any time for loading: man fought against man, and the useless discharge of small arms was exchanged for the pike and the sword. Overpowered by numbers, the exhausted Swedes at length gave way and retreated over the trenches, by which they lost the battery they had but just possessed themselves of; a thousand dead bodies already covered the plain, without any ground being gained.

"In the mean time the King's right wing, led on by himself, had fallen

upon the enemy's left; the first shock of the heavy cuirassiers of Finland dispersed the lightly mounted Polanders and Croats who had formed upon that wing, and their disorderly flight spread confusion and consternation among the remainder of the cavalry. At this moment the King was informed that his infantry had retired over the trenches, and also that his left wing was thrown into confusion by the enemy's cannon from the windmill. He immediately detached General Horn in pursuit of the enemy's left, which was defeated, while he himself hastened at the head of the regiment of Steinbock to repair the disorder of his left. His noble charger immediately carried him over the trenches, but the squadrons could not follow so quickly; and only a few horsemen, among whom was Francis Albert Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, were able to keep up to the King. He flew to the spot where his infantry were in the greatest confusion, and while he looked for the place where the enemy's line could be attacked to advantage, his nearness of sight led him too close to them. An Imperial corporal remarking that the attendants every where made way for him, immediately ordered a musketeer to take his aim: 'Fire at him,' cried he; 'that must be a man of distinction.' The soldier fired, and the King's left arm was shattered. At that moment the squadrons came up with a confused cry of, '*The King bleeds, the King is shot!*' which spread universal terror and consternation among them. 'It is nothing; follow me,' cried the King, collecting his whole strength; but overcome by pain, and ready to faint, he requested of the Duke of Lauenburg, in French, to lead him, without being seen, from the tumult. While the latter proceeded towards the right wing of the King, and made a long circuit to avoid exposing this discouraging spectacle to the disordered infantry, Gustavus received a second shot in the back, which deprived him of his remaining strength. 'Oh, my friend! I am gone,' were his dying words: 'save your own life!' He immediately fell from his horse: pierced by several shots, and abandoned by his attendants, he expired amidst the Croatian plunderers. His charger, covered with blood and flying without its master, soon convinced the Swedish cavalry of the King's fall, and they furiously

furiously rushed on to rescue this prize from the enemy; a dreadful conflict ensued about his dead body, which was buried under a heap of the slain.

"The terrible intelligence soon ran through the Swedish army; but instead of diminishing the courage of these intrepid troops, it only rendered them furious. The Swedes now thought only of revenge, and no one valued his life when the King fell; the Upland, Smaland, Finland, East and West Gothland regiments attacked the enemy's left wing a second time, which yielded to General Horn but a short resistance, and was completely beaten out of the field. Bernard Duke of Weimar now assumed the command of the Swedish army, upon the death of Gustavus Adolphus, and inspired it with the same sentiments. The left wing was immediately rallied, and attacked the right of the Imperialists with impetuosity; the artillery at the windmill, which had made so destructive a fire upon the Swedes, was taken by the Duke and turned against the enemy; the centre also of the Swedish infantry advanced anew under the Duke and Knyphausen against the trenches, which they passed fortunately, and a second time made themselves masters of the battery of seven cannons. The attack was now renewed with redoubled fury upon the enemy's centre, which gradually resisted less and less; and even accident assisted the bravery of the Swedes to complete the defeat: the Imperial powder-waggons blew up, and by the terrible explosion the grenades and bomb-shells were carried into the air. The enemy, now in confusion, were apprehensive of being taken in the rear, while the Swedish brigades attacked them in front; they became spiritless, seeing their left wing beaten, their right on the point of giving way, and their artillery lost. The battle appeared to be decided, and the fate of the day depended only upon a moment: Pappenheim at this critical juncture arrived with his cuirassiers and dragoons; every advantage gained was lost, and the battle began anew." *Vol. ii. p. 146.*

"The Imperial infantry, also exhausted, was encouraged by Pappenheim's sudden arrival, and Wallenstein immediately profited by this circumstance to form the line again. The Swedish battalions, formed in deep order, were, after a desperate conflict,

repulsed over the trenches, and the twice-lost cannon a second time rescued. The entire yellow regiment, the most distinguished on this dreadful day, lay dead upon the spot which had been the scene of their intrepidity. A regiment in blue shared the same fate, which Count Piccolomini attacked with the Austrian cavalry and overcame after a desperate resistance. Seven different times did this intrepid general renew the attack; seven horses were shot under him, and he was pierced by six musket-balls. He nevertheless would not quit the field of battle until led by the general retreat of the whole army. Wallenstein himself was seen riding amid a shower of the enemy's bullets with cold intrepidity, encouraging the necessitous, applauding the brave, and intimidating the fugitives. His men fell upon each side of him, and his mantle was perforated by several shots. Another destiny, however, awaited him; and fate had not resolved to terminate his career on the same bed with Gustavus Adolphus.

"Pappenheim, the bravest soldier of the Austrian army and of the church, was not so fortunate. An ardent desire to meet the King's person in battle had led him into the thickest tumult, where he thought he would least fail of meeting his noble enemy. Gustavus had also expressed a wish to encounter this respectable antagonist; but the desires of both remained unsatisfied, and both heroes equally fell. Pappenheim was pierced by two musket-balls in the breast, and was obliged to be taken by force from the combat. While the men were conveying him behind the line, it was whispered in his ears that he whom he sought lay dead upon the plain. When the truth of this report was confirmed his eyes sparkled with joy. 'Let Wallenstein know,' cried he, 'that I die, not with sorrow, but, on the contrary, with pleasure, since I am certain that the most implacable enemy of my religion has fallen on the same day with me.'" *Vol. ii. p. 154.*

"Although the Te Deum of victory was sung both in the Austrian and Spanish territories, Wallenstein openly confessed his defeat by the diligence with which he abandoned Leipzig, and soon after all Saxony, and renounced his intentions of taking up his winter-quarters in that country. It is true he made one more weak attempt to dispute the honour of the victory, and detach-

ed his Croats next morning to the field: but the aspect of the Swedish army, which stood there in order of battle, immediately dispersed these ravaging bands; and the Duke of Weimar, by the possession of the field, and soon after by the capture of Leipzig, had an undisputed claim to the victory.

"But a dear victory, a melancholy triumph! It was after the fury of the battle had subsided, that the importance of the loss sustained was felt, and the joy of the victors was converted into a silent and deep melancholy. He who had led them to the charge was no more returned: he lay dead among the bodies of the common men. After a long, and almost vain, search, the royal corpse was at length discovered near the great stone which had, a century before, been seen between Lutzen and the trenches, but which, from the melancholy disaster of this day, still bears the name of the Swedish rock. Covered with blood and wounds so as to be scarce known, trodden under horses' feet, and stripped of his decorations and his clothes, he was taken out from under a heap of the dead, conveyed to Weissenfels, and there delivered up to the lamentations of his troops and the last embraces of his queen. The first tribute was paid to vengeance; but that passion was soon succeeded by affection, and displayed itself in an universal lamentation: the regret of individuals was lost in the universal sorrow. The generals, struck with stupefaction, gazed upon his bier, and all the calamities which his progress had caused were buried in oblivion." *Vol. ii. p. 160.*

DEATH OF WALLENSTEIN—HIS CHARACTER.

"WHILE Wallenstein was actively negotiating with the enemy at Egra, consulting the stars and indulging new hopes, the poniard was drawn almost before his eyes which put a period to his existence. The Imperial proclamation which set a price upon his head, had not failed in its effect, and fate ordained that one act of ingratitude should be punished by another. Among his officers, Wallenstein had in particular distinguished one Leslie, an Irishman, and made his fortune. This man, whether from a sense of duty or a

meaner impulse, felt himself called on to execute the sentence against Wallenstein, and to merit the bloody reward. He was no sooner arrived at Egra, in Wallenstein's suite, than he disclosed to the governor, Colonel Butler*, and to Lieutenant-colonel Gordon, two Protestant Scotchmen, all the dangerous designs which that infatuated man had the imprudence to impart on his way thither. Leslie here found two men fit for his design; they had the alternative of duty or treason, of adhering to their lawful sovereign, or to a fugitive abandoned rebel; and although the latter was an universal benefactor, the choice could not remain doubtful for an instant; they were solemnly bound in their allegiance to the Emperor, and this required them to take immediate measures against the common enemy. But not to offend justice, it was determined to deliver up her victim alive, and the conspirators parted with the bold project of taking the General prisoner. This dark plot was covered with the deepest secrecy; and Wallenstein, instead of entertaining the least surmise of his impending destruction, rather flattered himself that he possessed in the garrison of Egra his bravest and most faithful adherents." *Vol. ii. p. 239.*

"Previous, however, to the last step, a long conference was held, in which it was debated whether they should kill him, or content themselves with making him a prisoner. They had seen him their leader in battle, and in his fortunate days surrounded by his victorious army; and the awe to which they had so long been accustomed again seized them. But this emotion was soon suppressed by the impending danger. The appearance of a formidable Swedish and Saxon army was hourly expected before Egra; and safety was only to be sought in the death of the traitor: they remained steadfast, therefore, to their first resolution; and Captain Devereux, an Irishman, received the bloody orders.

"While the three above mentioned decided his fate in the castle of Egra, Wallenstein was occupied in consulting the stars with Seni. 'The danger is not yet over,' said the astrologer with a prophetic spirit; 'It is,' answered Wallenstein, who would even contradict the decrees of Heaven; 'but it

* "Butler was an Irishman, and a Papist. *Transf.*"

'stands

*'stands written in the stars that thou shalt
'soon be thrown into prison!'*

"The astrologer had taken his leave, and Wallenstein was in bed when Devereux with six halberdiers came to his house, and was immediately admitted by the guard, who were accustomed to see him go to the General at all hours. A page who met him on the stairs, and wished to raise the alarm, was run through the body with a pike: in the antechamber the assassins met a servant who had just come out of his master's apartment, and taken with him the key; by putting his finger to his mouth, the affrighted slave admonished them to make no noise, as the General was asleep. '*Friend,*' said Devereux, '*it is time to awake him;*' with these words he ran against the door, and burst it open.

"Wallenstein was aroused from his first sleep by the noise of a musket which went off, and sprung to the window to call the guard: he at the same time heard the lamentations of the Countesses Terzky and Kinsky, who had just learned the violent death of their husbands (Wallenstein's associates). Before he had time for reflection, Devereux with his assassins was in the apartment; he was in his shirt, and leaning on a table near the window. '*Art thou the villain,*' cried Devereux, '*who intends to deliver up the Emperor's troops to the enemy, and to dethrone his Majesty? Now thou must die.*' He paused a few moments, as if expecting an answer; but rage and astonishment silenced Wallenstein: with arms extended he received in his breast the assassins' halberds, and fell weltering in his blood without a groan.

"Ferdinand shed a tear over the fate of his general, and ordered 3000 masses to be said for his soul in Vienna; but did not at the same time forget to decorate his assassins with gold chains, chamberlains' keys, dignities and estates.

"Thus did Wallenstein, at the age of fifty years, terminate his active and extraordinary life. Led away by ambition and the love of fame, he was still, with all his failings, an admirable and inimitable character, had he contained himself within bounds. The virtues of the ruler and the hero, prudence, justice, firmness, and courage, are the striking features of his charac-

ter; but he wanted the softer virtues of humanity, which adorn the hero, and procure the ruler the esteem of mankind. Terror was the talisman with which he worked: excessive in his punishments as well as in his rewards, he knew how to keep the zeal of his followers continually expanded; and no general of ancient or modern times could boast of being obeyed with equal alacrity: obedience was of more real service to him than the soldier's courage, because he acted through its means. He kept his troops in practice by capricious orders, and rewarded a readiness to obey him, even in small matters, with profusion: he at one time issued an order that none but red sashes should be worn in the army. A captain of horse no sooner heard the order than he trampled his gold embroidered sash under foot; Wallenstein, on being informed of this circumstance, promoted him to the rank of Colonel upon the spot. With all this appearance of caprice, he did not lose sight of the main object. The robberies of the troops in their friends' country had occasioned the severest orders against stragglers; and those who were detected in a theft were threatened to be punished with the halter. It happened that Wallenstein himself met a soldier, whom he commanded, without trial, to be taken up as a transgressor, and with his usual stern order of '*Hang the fellow,*' condemned him to the gallows; the soldier pleaded innocence, but the decisive sentence was pronounced. '*Hang, then,*' '*innocent,*' cried Wallenstein; '*the guilty will tremble with more certainty.*' Preparations were already making to execute the sentence, when the soldier, who gave himself up for lost, formed the desperate resolution of not dying without revenge. He furiously fell upon his judge, but was soon disarmed by numbers before he could execute his design. '*Now let him go,*' cried Wallenstein; '*he will excite sufficient terror.*'

"His munificence was supported by an immense income, which was valued at three millions* annually, without reckoning the immoderate sums which he raised by contributions. His freedom of thinking and clearness of understanding placed him above the religious prejudices of his age, and the Jesuits could never forgive him for hav-

* "Florins, no doubt. *Trans.*"

ing seen through their system, and beheld nothing in the Pope but a Roman bishop.

"But as, since Samuel the prophet's days, no one came to a fortunate end who quarrelled with the church, Wallenstein also augmented its victims. Through monkish intrigues he lost at Ratibon the command of the army, and at Eggra his life; by the same acts he perhaps lost what is more, his honest reputation and his fame with posterity. For it must be candidly acknowledged that we have the history of this extraordinary man delivered to us by no means through impartial hands; and that Wallenstein's treason, and his designs upon the crown of Bohemia, rest less upon any positive proof than upon appearances of probability. We have not yet discovered the documents which might display the secret springs of his conduct with historic truth; and among all the actions ascribed to him openly, there is not one which could not proceed from an innocent source. Many of his most obnoxious measures showed an inclination for peace; others were to be excused by his just suspicion of the Emperor, and the blameless desire of maintaining his authority. It is true that his conduct towards the Elector of Bavaria bears the appearance of an ignoble revenge and implacable spirit; but none of his actions clearly convince us of his treason. When necessity and despair at length drove him to merit the sentence which had fallen upon him when innocent, such a sentence cannot altogether be justified; it was his ruin that caused his rebellion, not rebellion his ruin. Unfortunate while living, he made a victorious party his enemy; equally so at his death, since the same party survived him, and wrote his history." *Vol. ii. p. 244.*

LXXIV. *An Examination of the Merits and Tendency of the Pursuits of Literature: Part First.* By WILLIAM BURDON, A.M. formerly Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge. 8vo. pp. 94. 2s. *Bell and Sands, Newcastle upon Tyne; Clarke, New Bond Street; Conder, London.*

EXTRACTS.

"SHOULD it be asked, why I (who am not even alluded to in the book) stand forward the champion of

other people? I will answer, it is not the men, but the principles which are attacked, that I am anxious to defend: if others have not thought the Author worthy of an answer, I have; not because he has the talent to be dangerous, but because he has the power to misrepresent; not because he is vigorous, but because he is venomous; not because he is admired, but because he is read, and read too by many who cannot see faults without having them pointed out. With such intentions I have ventured to come forward to a contest, in which I trust to be in some measure equal to my antagonist; not because I am a David, but because he is no Goliath. I have judged that the best method of showing the book in its true light, is to examine it piece by piece: it is the longest, but it is the fairest; and if I should prove, as I trust to do, that the Author's egotism and Vanity are every where evident; that his style is poetical and affected; that he is declamatory, and destitute of argument; that neither his quotations, nor his applications of them, are just and honest; that he has not read many of the works which he censures; that his judgments of books and men are not impartial, but directed by his political prejudices and his private dislikes; that his sentiments on politics and religion are illiberal and bigotted; and that he is every where peevish, pedantic, and malignant; that, under pretence of love for our English constitution, he preaches up despotism, which is the only government he heartily admires; if I should prove all, or even part of this, I trust I have done a little towards shaking his character with the public, and contributed my share to free them from the imperious tyranny of a literary dictator." *P. 4.*

"It will be seen, however, that, by omissions and alterations, I have expressed a liberal concern for my unintentional mistakes, with the spirit and breeding of a gentleman." There are other things required of a gentleman, which he has not done, while he has done those things which he ought not to have done: he has yet much ill breeding to atone for. Such is our Author's lust for quotation, that it is as impossible for him to write a page without it, as for a hardened snuff-taker to be ten minutes without a pinch. Let me advise him, however, always to stick to the text, and not, when a passage

sage makes directly against him, attempt to turn it his own way, as he has done the following from Johnson's Debates: 'The heat which has offended them is the ardour of conviction, and that zeal for the service of my country, which neither hope nor fear shall influence me to suppress. I will not sit unconcerned when (public) liberty is threatened or invaded, nor look in silence upon (intended) public robbery. I will exert my endeavours, at whatever hazard, to drag the aggressors to justice, whoever may protect them, and whoever may (ultimately) partake of the (national) plunder.' Here, by the help of one alteration, three insertions, and two omissions, he has twisted the passage, or, as he calls it, applied the spirit of it to his purpose. This is a new mode of quotation, which, if generally adopted, will be ten times more dangerous than the ravages of criticism, for that seldom extends beyond a word at a time, but this will in the end pervert the sentiments of an Author so completely, that he may be made to speak any man's opinions but his own; nay, even the most opposite." P. 6.

"In the motto to the introductory letter he has given a long quotation from Tasso, which, as it stands, appears to have been taken regularly from the Poet, without any other words intervening; but it is not so, there are no less than two whole stanzas between them: this licence may be permitted when, as in this case, the meaning is not altered; but in other cases, of which I will give many instances, it is dangerous, because an Author may be made to say what he certainly never intended; but though the meaning is evident, the force of its application is not so easily seen, unless the Author wishes it to be understood that he has any thing to do with the powers of the lower regions, to whom the words of the magician are addressed. In the three first paragraphs of the introductory letter he seems to glory in his shame, when he exults in the impossibility of finding him out: in spite of all that he may say to the contrary, I am of opinion that it is not the work of one man: his word will go for nothing, because no man can tell whose word it is. He has only one method of disproving conjectures; till he adopts that, every man's conjecture will have the weight it seems to deserve. If I am not mista-

ken, I am justified in applying the words of Martial to one of the persons concerned—

—*Facile est epigrammata belle
Scribere, sed librum scribere difficile est.*

Lib. 7. Ep. 84. ad Sabellum vanum Poetam.

"I might add too, that it is easier to make speeches—the Doctor understands me." P. 8.

"I have been under the necessity, at least as I thought, of appealing for illustration to writers of all ages and in various languages." Concerning the propriety of this constant appeal to other men's writings, I have frequently had my doubts, and am now more than ever inclined to disuse it: though I do not deny the advantages of a classical education, I must yet be allowed to reprobate the frequency of classical quotation. The ancients, it is true, have left us many models in poetry, history, oratory, criticism, and philosophy, which will never be surpassed either in the present or future ages, if we are to judge by the progress of the world since their times; but the use we are to derive from them is, to form our taste and enrich our ideas, not to plaster our writings; for he who best studies and understands, will not be most forward to quote them: it shows he has read, but not digested them; it shows that his opinions are not his own; and is a greater evidence of a good memory than a strong judgment: it is moreover, in all works that are intended to be popular, an invincible obstacle to their being generally understood: to translate words, phrases, or sentiments, from another language into our own, by which it is improved, is the true end of reading the classics; but to transplant passages, is like patching instead of weaving: the one can be done by any bungler who has the materials, the other requires some dexterity. No point of mere opinion can be decided by quotation; for the wisdom of the ancients is on one side as well as the other: it is therefore a bad substitute for argument; for it is easy to find a passage in some author to suit any purpose. But is quotation never admissible? it will be said. Undoubtedly it is on many occasions: in history it is indispensable, but in works merely of opinion it must be used sparingly, and then rather to illustrate than to prove. Dryden, Johnson, and Junius, have

shown that genius has little need to be supported by quotations, and their writings may serve as models how they are to be used: our author, by his prodigality of them, is bringing us back to the antiquated foppery of Jeremy Taylor and his contemporaries, from which the vigour of Dryden and the courtly elegance of Sprat had freed us; for they first gave the examples of a pure page, and a clear margin; the one had no need of pedantry, the other was afraid of it: since their time we have been preserved from this inundation of learned trash, and the pure stream of genius has flowed undisturbed by quotation, till Parr and Wakefield (whose names I mention with respect) unwisely poured their exuberant learning through their richest pages: but let me not place these men by the side of our author for any thing but contrast: their faults spring from riches, his from extreme poverty; they have no need of the aid of foreign ornament; their style and their ideas have only the faults of redundancy; he is for ever on the stretch to be what he can never arrive at; and as to quotation, theirs is the murmur of a gentle stream, compared to his, which resembles the inundation of a torrent." P. 53.

"The faults of his critical principles will be more fully shown when I have occasion to remark them in different parts of his writings in which he has censured the works of others. His style, if examined by any of the rules of legitimate composition, will be found to contain all the faults, and few of the beauties, that have been noticed by the greatest critics: it is frigid, affected, harsh, bombastical, and puerile; it is metaphorical, but his metaphors are far-fought and ill-adapted; it is poetical without being harmonious; it has the uncouthness without the force of antiquity; it is not always intelligible, sometimes not grammatical, and constantly the reverse of simplicity and purity: if any man wishes to see some of its faults more forcibly and neatly expressed than it is in my power to express, I will refer him to Dionysius's enumeration of the faults of Plato's style, which are numerous: vide Dionysius's Epist. ad Cn. Pomp. ed. Sylb. 1586, p. 127, l. 20, sect. 5; and to the same author's judgment of others who affected a poetical and pompous phraseology: vide Dionysius Lyfias, line 27."—P. 88.

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